THE CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW

密勒氏評論報

A Weekly Newspaper Established In 1917

May 8, 1948

THE POSSIBILITY OF WAR

AN EDITORIAL

What Do We Expect Of Chiang?

C. Y. W. Meng

'Hoodlumism' In US

Edward Rohrbough

Treasury Notes And Idle Funds

K. Stone

NORTH KIANGSU REFUGEES

AN EDITORIAL

VOLUME 109 PRICE CNC$80,000 NUMBER 10

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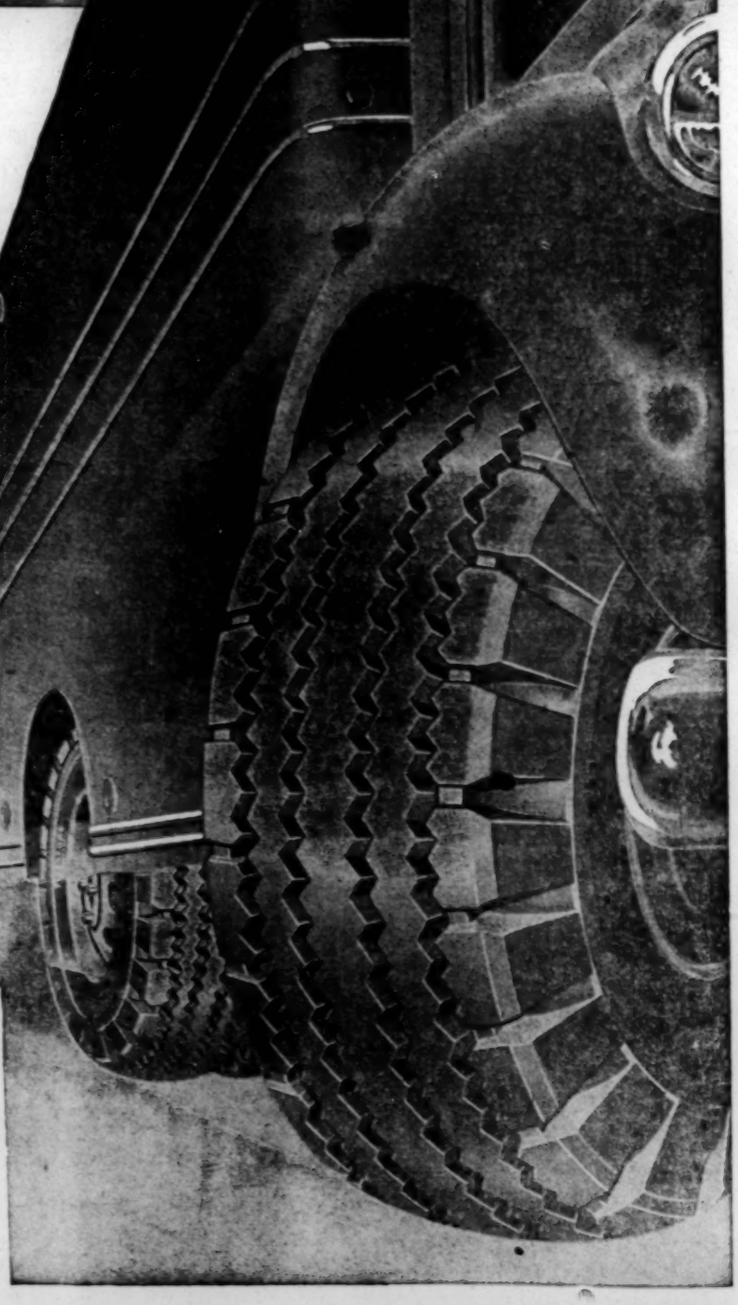

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LETTERS From The People

Comments from readers on current topics are cordially invited: their opinions, however, do not necessarily represent the views of The China Weekly Review.

No More To Say

To The Editor:

With the Government's order of suspending the publication of the *Kuo Shung Weekly*, the April 9 issue of this magazine became the last. Simultaneously, *Time & Culture* and *World Culture* were warned. The reason given was that these magazines have been doing propaganda for the Communist bandits against the Government, as well as the U.S. This is the so-called freedom of speech in our country. What else can I say?

F. F.

Shanghai,
April 30, 1948.

Aid To Farmers

To The Editor:

Chinese rural areas are economically going to collapse and farmers are on the verge of starvation and in urgent need of aid from the Government. Most of their farms have been devastated since the Sino-Japanese war. On the contrary, instead of helping them, the Government imposes upon them heavy taxation and conscription.

Chinese farmers are delighted to learn that a part of the American loan to China is to be used for rural reconstruction. With this fund, they can buy some agriculture machinery and other farm implements to increase their production. But past experience tells us that unless the fund is used under American supervision, the money will not be well handled.

We sincerely welcome the American loan to China to relieve our poor farmers, but firmly oppose any loan which is under the rural reconstruction program and actually goes into the pockets of a few.

SUN CHIE GANG.

Feyang, Chekiang,
April 23, 1948.

Constructive Criticism

To The Editor:

C.Y.W. Meng's article "A Private Citizen's Self-Help Program For China" in the March 13 issue of the *Review* has really spoken the minds of the majority of the people and reflected the pressing demands of the broad masses to a considerable extent.

I subscribe without any reserve to Mr. Meng's view that the present political mess is the principal cause of all our economic and social ills. We must use the Sword of Democles to cut the Gordian knot once for all. It is the blindness to this very truth on the part of the Government that has led to the failure in solving the present deteriorating economic problems.

Mr. Meng is quite right in saying that what the Chinese really need is not American guns or bombers but American productive machinery and farm tractors; not American military aid but American capital and technical assistance in our national economic construction, which, in order to be effective, must be free from any political and military design. In other words, American military aid can serve no purpose; on the contrary, it

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will worsen the present situation and American economic aid must not be accompanied with any selfish design, political or economical. As is well known, there are still many persons who pin their hopes on American military aid to deal with the situation on the one hand, and the American imperialists are attempting to use the aid to China as a means for making China an American anti-Soviet vanguard in the Far East on the other hand. All of them should know that their designs are swimming against the tide and are in contradiction to the will of the great mass of the people and therefore, are bound to fall to the ground.

I agree with Mr. Meng in his opinion that neither American democracy nor Soviet communism will satisfy our demands. We have to work out a form of democracy to meet our needs, and this form of democracy should be a progressive and democratic socialism. I would point out that the so-called progressive and democratic socialism must be nothing other than a coalition government in which not only Kuomintang but also the Communist Party and the Democratic League must be included. It is obvious that the present Government, led by the Kuomintang and including the Young China Party and the Socialist Democratic Party which are generally considered as nothing but the cat's paws of Kuomintang, cannot be called a genuine coalition government by any means.

One thing I should like to emphasize is that among the 10 points enumerated in Mr. Meng's self-help program should be the forming of a coalition government. According to Mr. Meng, it is the "broadening of the foundation of the government." In my opinion, underlying all the issues in China now is the lack of a coalition government. Until it is realized, no freedom of speech, press, association and academic research and the like can be expected. It must be recognized that it is the nucleus of the prevailing China problem. Failing to realize this, one will be at a loss to find a way out of the present deteriorating situation.

There are some other points in Mr. Meng's article with which I cannot agree. First, Mr. Meng has too much faith in the "great men." He said, "The holding of a successful historic Truman-Chiang-Stalin-Attlee Meeting in Berlin or elsewhere will help immensely in the settlement of our communist problem." We must understand that the so-called communist problem is a political problem in nature but has its social, economic foundation. It cannot, therefore, be solved simply in accordance with the good wishes of the "great men," but must be in accordance to the real needs of the development of the situation. The determining element in the development of the history is the broad masses not the "big shots." By the way, this view seems to be in contradiction to the later part of his own article in which he suggested that President Chiang should issue a timely statement—I doubt its necessity and its value—to the effect that "..... But China will not tolerate interference in her own internal affairs by any foreign power." The fact that these two irreconcilable views appear in the same article is surely beyond comprehension.

Second, I am strongly opposed to the world peace formula invented by Mr. Meng as Marshall Plan+UNO=World Peace. Whether the Marshall Plan is beneficial to world peace or not is open to doubt and whether UNO may be considered as an ideal international organization remains a matter of uncertainty. World peace is a living thing, having its own flesh and blood, and therefore cannot in any way be represented mechanically by a dead formula.

Third, I cannot agree with Mr. Meng

on his opinion that the true solution of the present world problem lies in encouraging America to become less capitalistic and more socialistic, and Russia to become less radical and more democratic, and in encouraging capitalist society to increase planning and communist society to increase liberty. It is rather obscure to say "more" and "less" since there is not a clear demarcation between them, and "encouraging" can by no means be considered as a solution to such a big problem—the world problem. The true solution of the present world problem lies, to my thinking, in the real realization of the true democracy. It is not easy to achieve, it needs the persistent and the indomitable struggle of the broad masses. Politics is a serious matter, not a plaything, just "encouraging" will not help much.

The above is my criticism of Mr. Meng's article; I don't know whether it is right or not. It is my sincerest hope that Mr. Meng and your readers will enlighten me.

H. K.

Kaiping, Kwangtung,
April 10, 1948.

Society Parasites

To The Editor:

For 2,000 years Chinese intellectuals have been considered the privileged class and entirely separate from community. In other words, they have become the parasites of society. It is a recognized fact that the ruling class is composed of intellectuals and the ruled are illiterates.

"The farther the intellectuals separate from the productive labor," said Thorstein Veblen, American economist, "the higher their positions are." Throughout the world the producers are always controlled by the consumers; the former are despised while the latter respected. This irrational fact has thrown everything into confusion. Today we may perceive a strong tendency that all the producers want to be the consumers.

In China, a middle-class official can always have a servant and a ricksha puller from the office and a cook and a maidservant hired by himself, his entire family who depend on him; however a farmer leads a very hard life and is hardly able to support his family.

As the result of the development of education, the number of the intellectuals will probably be increased and the illiterate peasants will decrease. Simultaneously, China will probably face a shortage of foodstuffs and intellectual unemployment. These will cause rebellions or riots instigated by educated men. The chief cause of the Civil War in China, therefore, is our traditional education system that separates educated men from production.

To remedy this defect, we must promote practical education making the intellectuals more closely connected with productive labor. Meanwhile, we should improve productive implements to increase production.

HSU SHIH-CHEN.

Kaifeng, Honan,
April 24, 1948.

Don't Be Afraid

To The Editor:

Below is a letter to Chinese intellectuals. I hope you will publish it in your valuable paper.

Dear Intellectuals:

In view of the present situation in China, it is not difficult for us to realize that the Chinese problem is more of politics in nature than of anything else. Our Government is democratic in name only and dictatorial in fact. Not unlike the American Government, it is for the benefit of a few wealthy families, such as the Kungs and Soongs and against that of the majority. What is

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—THOMAS HUXLEY.

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more, 99 out of 100 officials in the Government are corrupt, especially the top rank ones. They do nothing but embezzle and squeeze the people. In their dictionary, we can never find the word "patriotism," for they do not know it and even deny its existence. To them, the country is nothing but a key to gaining wealth.

To solve the Chinese problem, we should first form a really democratic government instead of the existing one. This government should be composed of men of good quality elected directly or indirectly by the majority of the people; this government should benefit the masses instead of a few millionaires.

Such a political reform, in my opinion, is the only way to save China, but it can only be accomplished by a great revolution led by progressive intellectuals and carried out by the people. As Chinese intellectuals can see things more clearly and understand them better, they are qualified to take the leadership in this revolution and have the responsibility to do so. Until this revolution has come to a complete success, we shall not be able to improve our welfare or make China able to cope with other strong powers in the world.

Dear intellectuals! Don't be afraid! Unite together into a single body and fight for the welfare of the people. Remember, it is your country which needs you to do so.

A PATRIOTIC CHINESE.

Wukan, Hunan,
April 22, 1948.

A Simple Life

To The Editor:

In order to meet the needs of the large-scale Civil War and to win it, the Communists in Harbin launched in January this year an administrative units reorganization movement advocating a simple economic life to save manpower, materials and wealth for the front. It was regulated that unnecessary duplications of organizations, as well as unnecessary personnel, will be reduced and that efficiency will be raised. Except for those high officials taking care of important documents, personal secretaries are not permitted. Except for those approved by the Bureau, party cadres cannot have guards. One orderly must be shared by five persons.

Women cadres above certain ranks who work and have one or two children under five, can have a nurse; those who have three children under five, can have one orderly more. Women cadres below certain ranks who work and have one or two children, can share one nurse with another member; those who have one child and do not work are not assigned any nurses, but those who have two children under five can still have a nurse. Every unit will set up kindergardens and nurseries as quickly as possible to permit women cadres free to work.

The living standard of middle peasants in villages and skilled workers in cities should be that of all party cadres. Except for the high officials approved by the Bureau, members cannot have private houses but must stay in their offices. Single staff members below the rank of section chief must share one bedroom with several persons. Except for a few chief officials who can possess a car, members must use public buses. The habit of the office providing cigarettes will be eliminated, and meetings must not take too much time. The functionaries can enjoy a movie once every two weeks in addition to evening parties held by their offices or cultural and labor units. The system of 10 hours' work and study must be followed by all. Every member should have eight hours' work and two hours' of study. During the office hours, the personnel is not permitted to receive guests, except in emergency cases.

S. W.

Hongkong,
April 20, 1948.

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Old Copies Wanted

To The Editor:

Since my teacher adopted the *Review* as supplementary reading material, it has become my favorite magazine. I enjoy the columns of "Editorial Paragraphs" and "Special Articles" most and feel that my English has been improved. Now I am able to make sentences and write short compositions.

Unfortunately, the price of the *Review* per copy has been raised to CNC$80,000 which is too much for me. I wonder whether any of your readers care to send me some copies of the *Review* which they have finished reading. My address: 福州北后街八十三號鄧由源

Y. Y. JAMES.

Foochow, Fukien,
April 22, 1948.

Salesman Needed

To The Editor:

In Canton during my spring vacation from far-flung Kaiping, I wanted to get a recent issue of the *Review* to read. After visiting a few comparatively large bookshops, I failed to find even an old copy. Upon investigation, I soon found that there were only four or five bookstores in which the *Review* was on sale and that each bookshop ordered only a limited number, say ten or twenty copies, from Shanghai. The booksellers feared that they would sustain a loss in business if they ordered too many. I sympathize with them, but for the benefit of a great number of readers who cannot afford to subscribe to it, something must be done to amend the situation. I suggest that a sales agent for your *Review* be established here to meet the demand of the readers.

The price for a copy of the *Review* is rather exorbitant here; when it cost CNC$20,000 per copy in Shanghai, it cost CNC$35,000 at Canton; when the Shanghai price was CNC$30,000, the Canton price, CNC$45,000. Your readers in Kwangtung heartily hope that your sales agent, if ever established, will reduce the selling price at Canton to a reasonable one to enable the poor readers to get it more easily.

On certain occasions, the wisdom of requiring your readers to attach their addresses to their letters to the editor intended for publication is open to question. Politically inclined as they are, it is not rare for them to talk about politics in their letters. Under the reign of this Government, postal censorship practically exists, although it is canceled in name. If they are found to have criticized the Government unfavorably, their personal safety is certainly at stake. In such a case, public functionaries would be threatened discharge and students would be in danger of being dismissed from the schools. If the regulation in question remains unchanged, many readers will be compelled to shut their mouths. Those who dare to voice their complaints about politics will feel ill at ease, fearing that they will unfortunately be caught by the censor. Thus, I would like to suggest that the writers of the letters be required to give their addresses only the first time, and that an address list be compiled by the editor for reference.

Last, something about the English Lessons. You used to give the answers to one lesson in the next. If all your readers are subscribers, it is all right, but many poor readers cannot afford to buy every issue. In such cases, this group of readers will be deprived of getting the correct answers. Would you be considerate enough to publish the answers at the end of the same lesson?

H. K.

Kaiping, Kwangtung,
April 15, 1948.

English Discussed

To The Editor:

It is generally understood that English or rather any foreign language is but a medium or instrument to the study of a learning which one country needs but lacks and hence must pursue from another, and that China is undoubtedly backward in science and industry in comparison with western countries. In view of these, China has paid much attention to English which has become the most important and a required course in all the schools of various grades, including universities, middle schools and even many elementary schools.

After World War II, with the English speaking people becoming the leading people and the English language further prevailing in the world, the English language in China has become more in vogue than ever. Several months ago the Ministry of Education renewed its decree that all schools in China should lay more emphasis on the course of English and pay more attention to the appointment of teachers of English.

But whatever it may be, a fact is a fact and cannot turn out otherwise. It is common knowledge that the curriculum in Chinese middle schools is so complicated and the students' work so heavy that they can hardly devote enough time to the study of English. I remember when I was teaching in a certain famous middle school seven or eight years ago, my students often came to me complaining, "You want us to study English hard, but our teacher of Chinese insists that, as a Chinese, we must first of all master Chinese. Also the teacher of mathematics always murmurs that we are not diligent enough in mathematics, which, he thinks, is the most fundamental and important of all courses. What on earth shall we do?"

In addition to the heavy courses in middle schools, many teachers of English are incompetent and can neither write nor speak English well. What they know seems only limited to the few textbooks they have taught over and over for many years. They exaggerate the importance of grammar which, they think, is the only way to master English. Their pronounciation is so bad that when they are engaged in talking in English, you naturally think that they are speaking anything other than English.

I do not agree with Professor Wang Chin-jen's idea in his "Should The Average Chinese Student Study English?" in the April 10 issue of the *Review* that

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"it is impossible to be a good reader, writer, or translator without being, first of all, a good speaker." I know a few very good teachers of English, who are good in one way or another. A fellow professor of English of mine in a certain college can write as perfect English as any well-educated Englishman or American, but he finds great difficulty in speaking the language, though its pronounciation is tolerably good. I have also an overseas Chinese colleague, who can speak English as fluently as his mother tongue, but anything he writes in English is sometimes full of mistakes. But I quite agree with Professor Wang that "the most serious problem which accompanies the study of English is the lack of good and well-trained teachers."

Therefore, it is really worse than useless to expect all the Chinese students to study English, unless all the school subjects have been readjusted and there are enough competent teachers to meet the present requirements. But I believe even when all these conditions are fulfilled, it will not be wise for all Chinese students to study English.

Most Chinese students do not realize what they are studying English for. They study it simply because the school offers the course and they are required to study it. And the school offers the course simply because the Ministry of Education decrees it to do so. What is their final goal in studying English? To be a writer of English? We can never hope to produce any first class English literary writer of world fame among us. To be a speaker of English? Even if you can speak English as well as any Englishman or American, what of it? Don't you see and hear many Chinese men and women who can speak English even more fluently than their own language? But what have they done in improving the situation of the country, except that the foreigners who travel in China find it a greater convenience to have these people around them?

According to my opinion, English should be given as a selective course instead of a required one in the middle school on one hand, in order to save most students from their vain effort of more than at least 10 years. Once out of school they will find the little English they have studied practically of no use to them at all, because only a very small part of the middle school graduates enter the university to pursue further study. On the other hand, in addition to the English departments in universities and colleges, which may be kept functioning for those who have interest and ambition in studying English language and literature, special institutes of English language should be set up, in which particular emphasis should be laid on translation. Those who have graduated or had special training in these institutes should bear the burden of translating as many valuable English books as possible into Chinese, thus benefitting the greatest number of students.

CHANG KUANG-CHU.

Nanking,
April 19, 1948.

Suicidal

To The Editor:

Paul A. Porter, former presidential emissary to Greece, in his "Wanted: A Miracle in Greece," in the December, 1947, issue of the *Reader's Digest*, said, "The Greek readers or most of them have shown little inclination to do things necessary to end their nation's travail except to plead for foreign aid to keep themselves in power....The Greek civil service is a kind of pension system for political hacks and it is overexpanded, underpaid and demoralized.....Insidious pressure has been brought upon the American Mission by the social lobby to convert the Mission into another means of safeguarding their prerogatives (the banking cabal in particular)....." He further recommended that in order to cope with the situation there, America must end the Greek civil war, refute the Soviet propaganda that America is financing the civil war, supervise the economic reconstruction program going on there and utilize the untapped democratic resources. America must not copy the British formula there of collaborating with the native ruling classes for the exploitation of the masses, thus delivering the Greeks into the arms of the Russians. "If we are defeated in Greece, it will be a crushing moral and strategic blow to our international role solar plexus," Mr. Porter added.

What else could Mr. Porter say to convince the Washington Administration of its unwise and suicidal policy toward Greece? Unfortunately General Marshall faces the same knotty problem about China as Mr. Porter did about Greece. Let us hope that the Marshall-Porter stand about China and Greece will prevail in the end for the eternal good of the parties concerned. The howling through their hats of those harebrained politicians such as Luce, Judd, Bullitt, Taft and Dewey, for indiscriminate aid to those countries which are nearly doomed to collapse, would

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only deliver them to Russia lock, stock and barrel.

I noted the most tragic thing in the "Marshall Views China" in the *China Press* of March 15 and 16, that Judd is a dyed-in-the-wool missionary-imperialist. He said, "In each case (both Europe and China), Russians get the area of the best resources and we please ourselves with the areas of lesser resources." So territory-grabbing is at the back of his pseudo-humanitarian pleading for aid for China. What an ex-missionary and a congressman Judd is! But Judd has shown his fox's tail (a Chinese adage).

I am certain that both the Greek and Chinese problems would confound Solomon's perspicacity and I also doubt that America can make a silk purse out of a sow's ear. It is only in heaven that you can have your cake and eat it too.

CHINESE JOHN THE BAPTIST.

Chengtu, Szechuen,
April 19, 1948.

Too Much Change

To The Editor:

After having been sick for five months, I find things have changed too much for me to catch up: commodity prices are many times higher than they were before and the military situation is much worse now. The Civil War has thrown everything into confusion. When will it be brought to an end?

T. L. LIU.

Sian, Shensi,
April 23, 1948.

What A Great Farce

To The Editor:

I could not help bursting into a fit of great laughter on reading the news that all three vice-presidential candidates had announced their withdrawals from the contest, and that the National Assembly was forced to adjourn for one day. Obviously, the KMT bosses were perplexed by the conflicts among the candidates. And I, too, was bewildered by this "Glorious Election Race," as the *Central News Daily* put it, and wondered what the hell the KMT bosses have been doing behind the screen of democracy. What a great farce it is!

After the first ballot in the vice-presidential election on April 23, 100 NA delegates from Kwangtung Province wrecked the *National Salvation Daily's* office and injured several of the staff. The reason for the attack was that the paper had strongly criticized Dr. Sun Fo, which was considered by these delegates as an insult to the 130,000,000 people of Kwangtung.

Before the second ballot took place, many handbills and pamphlets were distributed to people here in the street, saying that General Li Tsung-jen was entirely unqualified for the vice-presidency. The pamphlet even went so far as to say that General Li is a warlord belonging to and head of the Kwangsi clique which had been once disloyal to the Central Government. If General Li won this race, added this pamphlet, he would force Generalissimo Chiang into exile. Then it attacked him violently, calling him an embezzler, squeezer, money-maker, an ambitious politician, traitor etc., and finally it advised him to give up his "beautiful dream."....

Besides the above-mentioned handbills, there were other pamphlets circulated in Nanking, accusing Dr. Chang Kia Ngau, chairman of the Central Bank and Governor Wang of Kiangsu Province of their corruption and incompetence respectively.

I wonder is General Li a KMT member? If so, why can't he pass peacefully through a KMT-controlled election? Why do the KMT members attack one another? Haven't they the same political ideals? How can it be hoped that the liberals and the communists will cooperate with a party like the existing KMT? Can we still believe that the Government will do well in the management of national affairs after the "bandits" have been wiped out? I am afraid the honeyed words given out by the KMT can no longer cheat us lao pai hsing now.

The Central Executive Committee of the KMT announced today that the three candidates have no right to withdraw from the election and that the situation is being clarified by the highest authorities. So the farce will go on. Let us wait and see.

C. T. T.

Nanking,
April 26, 1948.

Unconstitutional

To The Editor:

In the past, my native province, Anhwei, was always called a fertile land where most people led a comfortable and gay life. But since the warlord, Lee Ping-sien, became the governor of Anhwei, the situation there has been entirely different.

On April 18, about 300 Anhwei students in Nanking, in order to save their native province, decided to make a petition to the National Assembly. But on their way to the Assembly, they were stopped near the Central University by the gendarmes and beaten. As a result, 25 students were wounded and one died. Why doesn't our Government dismiss such officials as Lee? How could the harsh gendarmes dare beat innocent students under the new Constitution?

LIN CHOW-CHIEN.

Shanghai,
April 29, 1948.

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Road To World Peace

To The Editor:

Since the end of World War II, world peace has been menaced both directly and indirectly and the world has been in a state of war, styled a "cold war," between the Eastern and Western blocs in Europe. Aggravating the general situation are civil wars in China, Greece and Philippine Islands, racial wars in Palestine and India, and the war for freedom in Indonesia.

The state of war existing in the world might spread like wild fire, and all countries might be involved imminently in another titanic and tragic struggle. From the experience of history and the American-Russian relations in the past months, it is physically impossible to localize and quarantine the existing areas of hostilities through the use of power politics.

If the world is suddenly faced with atomic, germ and rocket warfare, the consensus of atomic scientists, military experts and medical men is that the whole human race will be annihilated.

The solution of the present impasse of the Eastern and Western groups in Europe headed respectively by Russia and America, is for one or more peaceful nations outside of these two groups to propose to the United Nations to explore every avenue for the re-establishment of world peace. World peace, if it is to have a chance to grow, must be total peace; partial peace in just one country or two is not world peace. Therefore the United Nations, instead of mediating in one case or another for the interest of this or that country, should come out with a total effort on the following program to liquidate all warlike activities all over the world:

(1) The United Nations should mediate for the settlement of the differences between the Eastern and Western blocs. In reality this means mediation for the settlement of major differences between Russia and America.

(2) The United Nations should mediate also for the cessation of civil wars in Greece, Philippine Islands and China, the racial wars in Palestine and India, and the war for freedom in Indonesia.

The United Nations, acting on such proposals, should appoint and send commissions to study the facts of each case in the above-mentioned wars. Facts obtained by the commissions should be published to the world in order that enlightened world public opinion may be created to keep national leaders and policy makers involved in these hostilities from running amuck at the expense of the world; and the facts should also be used to help the United Nations to render judicial decisions for the settlement of all the differences between the parties in each case.

Enforcement of the decision should be made by a police force, if necessary, made up of armed forces of the members under the general command of the United Nations.

The best way to fight for total world peace is the positive and open approach through the United Nations according to the above program. Our present attitude is that of an ostrich; we would rather wait for peace to be dished out by contending groups who are more conscious of their own factional or national interests than those of the world as a whole. This leads to secret diplomacy and power politics, which in turn will surely bring about the Third World War just as they brought about the first and second world wars, as well as other wars in the past hundred years. This is essentially the rule of might or balance of power.

The new formula will give the United Nations "new rules of the game," those of justice and peace, in place of those of might and power. Under the old method, the strong nations take the law into their own hands and consequently are the plaintiffs, jury and judge, all at the same time. Under the new rules, the United Nations is the "blindfolded judge" who will treat every case of violation of peace according to the rule of laws based on natural justice. Only such a regime can bring about total world peace.

J. K. CHOY.

New York, USA,
April 15, 1948.

Need Teachers

To The Editor:

I have been a subscriber to your *Review* for several months and enjoy reading it very much, for it gives me much valuable information which cannot be found in other papers. Now I intend to go abroad for further study and would like to take private conversation lessons from a foreign teacher before leaving this country. My dear Editor, would you be kind enough to introduce me to a foreign gentleman who would like to teach me? My address: House No. 15, Lane 319, Chungking Road, Shanghai.

SOONG HAO-CHI.

Shanghai,
April 28, 1948.

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Vol. 109 Shanghai, Saturday, May 8, 1948 No. 10

The Possibility Of War

THE possibility of war between the US and Russia and their respective allies looms greater with almost each passing week. If relations between the two "big" powers continue to deteriorate at the present pace, we may be faced with war in the very near future. We are not beating the war drums; we are merely stating our considered view of the situation.

A war now would set the world back a great many years, and at its conclusion we would be faced by problems which would make our present post-World War II difficulties seem mild by comparison.

While the views differ slightly in the various world capitals, it appears that all nations are fearful of a conflict. Some are anticipating it, some expect it within a matter of months. Such views cannot be dismissed as idle speculation since they are formed by the events of today. Further, the very fact that so many people have seemingly become resigned to a conflict is in itself an important contribution toward war.

According to press reports, the French are said to be expecting war within six months. War talk on the streets of Paris is more prevalent than in 1938. The Low Countries are also expecting war and gossip has it that they hope for equipment for 20 divisions to be supplied by the US. The British are fearful of war. Top leaders are said to fear that Russia, carried away by her successes to date, may misjudge how far the US will let her go without resorting to force and that war may be precipitated. US officials are said to be more calm, figuring that the Russians will be very careful to avoid any risks of open war. Washington is reported not expecting war for several years, anyway.

However, in the US the situation is a bit more involved. While the Administration obviously believes—or at least hopes—that the ERP will aid in preventing war, the possibility is not being ruled out. Universal Military Training has been requested, while bills to enlarge the armed forces are already before Congressional committees. In support of military preparedness, the American people are being informed of the dangers of war and, in an effort to build up solid public support for a draft and its attendent expenses, a near war hysteria is being manufactured.

The situation is indeed delicate. While we would be the last to argue against a sensible preparedness program if the administration leaders honestly believe the threat of war imminent, we think that the flaunting of such a threat is likely to arouse the public to an emotional state where it will be demanding war. A continued diet of "war scare" tires people's patience and increases their feelings of insecurity. It makes them nervous and jumpy and inclined to carry their "national honor" like a chip on their shoulders.

It is quite possible that these warlike preparations may themselves be the final thing that will cause war. Certainly the US and the Soviet Union cannot continually increase the tempo of the so-called Cold War, throwing down threats and counter-threats, feeding their respective peoples diets of fear and suspicion and, even more important, continue an arms race, without actually fighting a war sooner or later.

The final incident which sets off the conflagration may in itself be of no great importance, but because of the background it may start something that neither side wishes. For instance, in our view a ready-made situation now exists in Berlin. Since the open break between East and West following the announcement of the Marshall Plan and Russia's refusal to cooperate or let her satellite countries participate, the squeeze play has become increasingly tough. Latest developments have seen the Russians placing restrictions on Allied activity in the Berlin area. Allied overland transportation through the Russian Zone to Berlin has been stopped because the Russians insisted on minute examination of personnel and cargo. Air transport was resorted to. A British plane was knocked down in a collision with a Soviet fighter. The Russians blamed the British transport, while the British blamed the Russian fighter. Both the Americans and the British have threatened to convoy their cargo and passenger planes with fighters. The Russians have announced their intention to impose even tighter controls on flights. Slowly the Russians are attempting to squeeze the British and Americans out of Berlin. The latter two are resisting this pressure and seem about ready to take armed measures to prevent any further squeeze.

This, we think, is a perfect picture of a war about to happen. Suppose, for instance the Russians issue flat orders that no more flights be made except in accordance with their regulations. If such an order is issued, it would be highly unlikely for the Allies to accede, since to do so would mean getting out of Berlin and this

"THE WITCH'S CIRCLE"

Burck in The Chicago Sun-Times

would be a tremendous blow to British-American prestige. The probable result would be fighter escorts for planes. The Russians in their turn could hardly allow the Allies to "get away" with this for it would be an open flaunting of their orders. At this point the matter of face becomes so important that neither side is willing to give in, and since the only step left is the use of force, someone applies it and the war is on.

This is a tragic thing about relations between nations. Frequently countries behave toward one another in much the manner of two school boys who dare each other to such an extent that neither can back down without a crippling loss of face, and a fight results. There are many basic factors which lead to war, but often they are precipitated by rash actions hardly in keeping with adult conduct. Once the war is on, the state is mobilized and a sufficient number of reasons justifying the conflict are propounded by each side in an effort to put the onus upon the enemy.

We are quite aware that there are a number of serious differences between the Russians and ourselves and that some of them at the moment seem well nigh insurmountable. However, we do not feel that war is inevitable, but it is getting close to that stage. Already our natural, national prejudices are pulling very hard at us and it becomes increasingly difficult to view the world situation objectively. Unless someone makes a conciliatory move, and soon, it will be too late.

North Kiangsu Refugees

THE problems of north Kiangsu refugees came to the fore in Shanghai again last week when a 2,000-strong mob forcibly entered the Shaoshing Residents' Association Coffin Depository in Nantao and set up housekeeping among the stored coffins.

While the police found it impossible to evict them immediately, a cordon was thrown around the compound and neither people nor food were allowed in, although refugees could leave if they wished. Unless it is decided to allow the squatters to remain in the depository, it can be assumed that they will all leave when they become sufficiently hungry. However, that is no solution to the problem.

It has not—and probably will not—be claimed that the refugees are communists, or inspired by communist agents, since they are all refugees from communism. The political attitude of the refugees was expressed by one who told the press that none would consider returning to north Kiangsu until the Communists were driven out. He added that when he left for Shanghai he had sold "several" mow of paddy field in order to get expense money and was now without funds, since he had been unable to find employment. A common complaint of the refugees was that they could not afford the rent they were being forced to pay for their present matsheds.

• • •

IT seems to us that the significance of this incident lies entirely in the fact that it is a symptom of the times. The event is otherwise of little importance, being merely a thoroughly understandable case of a large group of more or less indigent people deciding to take shelter in an essentially empty space. The need of the squatters to some extent can be measured by the fact that they are willing to live in the same rooms with coffins, using them as tables, beds, etc. This is a particularly good indication when one considers the unusual respect shown for the dead in this country.

Any nation engaged in a civil war encounters refugee problems. People, either through political conviction, economic interest, or emotional upset, will follow retreating troops of one side or the other. The refugees in this case are in the main farmers who have fled the Communists because they felt that they had more to lose under a Red administration than under the rule of the KMT. Presumably, since this is largely a war between the "haves" and the "have-not," they were in the upper strata of society in their native north Kiangsu. At least one might assume that they did not belong to the so-called landless peasant class.

However, since arriving in Shanghai they seem to have sunk to the lowest levels, living in matsheds, which are about the most primitive type of shelter that exists, and working as rickshа pullers and coolies. Here is where the

danger lies. Too long in such positions and they may well begin to consider whether or not their original decision to flee the Communists was well taken. Unless the Reds were to kill them, they could not have been much worse off if they had stayed. Since the society run by the Kuomintang has shown so little concern for them, it is likely that they will decline to run, should it become necessary later on. People who flee their native places when the Communists come are certainly among the staunchest followers of the Kuomintang. If this administration takes so little care of them, it certainly cannot expect their continued support.

It is up to the authorities to take some remedial action. We realize, of course, that things are always most difficult for the "haves" when they are fighting the "have-nots." The latter are fighting to acquire property and usually have little to lose. The property owners, though, are fighting to retain their holdings and it is hard to convince a rich man that the way to keep what he has is to give some of it up for the cause. He sees a contradiction, remains blind to the question of degree, and devotes his efforts to holding on to all of his individual property as long as possible.

In some Western countries the "haves" have accepted the view that they must share their wealth and submit to the levelling process to a certain extent if they wish to retain anything at all. This is true in America where there is a graduated income tax based largely on one's ability to pay. In Britain the levelling process has progressed considerably further, where income and death and inheritance taxes are almost confiscatory and well-nigh prevent the uninterrupted passage of wealth through one family from generation to generation.

In China, though, there is no realization of the need to compromise or lose all. The recent "soak-the-rich" tax plan was a good example. Although Nanking officials pointed out to the nation's wealthy that unless they were prepared to part with some of their property as an aid to the war effort, they stood to lose it all, the response was nil. One official put it very plainly to Shanghai businessmen, saying, in effect, "Today the Government is knocking on your door and asking for 10 percent. Unless you heed this knock, the Communists will soon knock on your door and demand 100 percent."

As the rich grow richer during these days of inflation, hoarding and speculative fever, the poor become more numerous and the gap between the "haves" and the have-nots" becomes greater. This is a dangerous situation, and unless the Government is prepared to change the trend by legislation and enforcement and to spend more of its time and efforts in solving the poor man's problems, Nanking's control of the situation will become weaker and weaker. Today it is 2,000 refugees in Shanghai from north Kiangsu. Tomorrow it may be 20,000 from some other area. The day after it might be a few hundred thousands or even millions and it also might be some other city faced with the problem of refugees from Shanghai.

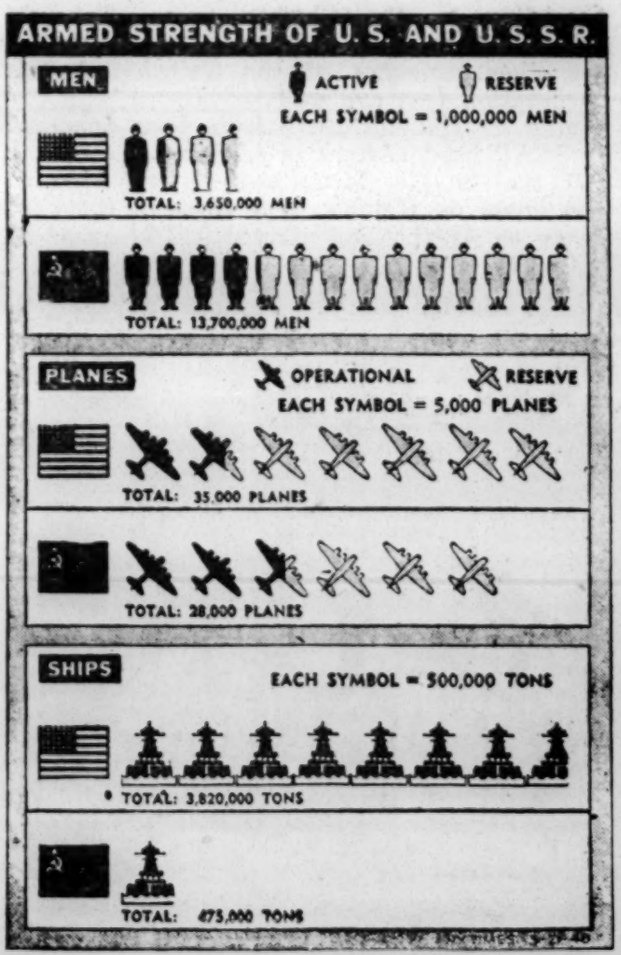
Watch The Japs—IX

THE Japanese are staging a comeback not only in Japan, but in China as well. This has been made possible thanks to foreign aid and Japan's strenuous efforts of self-help. It appears possible that what the Japanese failed to accomplish in the Pacific War may gradually become a reality in the postwar period.

The projected development of Hainan Island has received much publicity lately. The recent visit to the island by United States Ambassador J. Leighton Stuart and Major General David Barr, accompanied by Governor T. V. Soong of Kwangtung, once again shifted public attention to the island. People are wondering what is behind all this coming and going.

We have heard quite a lot of rumors and as far as we are able to judge, some of them are purely wishful thinking or crystal ball gazing. However, one fact stands out undisputed and that is the Chinese Government is planning to push ahead with industrial reconstruction on the island.

Of course, there is nothing wrong with this project. On the contrary, any plan to develop China's national resources in order to step up



From the New York Times

production and raise the living standard of the Chinese people is welcome. But Governor Soong's plan for Hainan development calls for the employment of Japanese advisers and technicians. It is this part of the business that make Chinese observers and industrialists suspicious and apprehensive. Their suspicion and apprehension cannot be lightly dismissed as being "unwarranted" under existing circumstances.

Maybe Uncle Knows What He's Doing

Press reports state that Takeki Horiuchi, former Japanese Consul General in Shanghai before the war, is serving as adviser to T. V. Soong. He is to advise Soong on matters pertaining to industrial reconstruction in Kwangtung Province in general and on Hainan Island in particular. Horiuchi is not the only Japanese adviser on Governor Soong's "Brain Trust." According to the Chinese press, Takeuchi, director of the Asahi Industrial Corporation and two other engineers of the Taihei Industrial Corporation who are well acquainted with iron mining on Hainan Island have been appointed by SCAP headquarters as advisers to cooperate with the Chinese Government in exploiting the iron mines on Hainan. The three of them left Tokyo on April 2 and arrived in Hainan at the end of the month.

In addition to these Japanese advisers, the Chinese Government is going to employ an unknown number of Japanese "technicians" to help with industrial reconstruction in Hainan. Upon his return from a tour of inspection of the island, Takeki Horiuchi told the Japanese press at Canton that he felt pretty optimistic about the island's future. In his opinion, the most effective and most profitable way of developing industry, agriculture and mining in Hainan is to make use of "American capital, Japanese technique and Chinese labor." In other words, he wants to make of it a joint American-Japanese-Chinese business proposition.

In order to employ more Japanese technicians, Horiuchi left for Shanghai on April 28 on his way to Tokyo, where he is expected to take up the matter with the Japanese Government and with the SCAP authorities. On the eve of his departure from Canton, he disclosed quite significantly that in selecting and employing Japanese technicians for the Chinese Government, he would attach special importance to two qualifications: practical experience and willingness to work hard on not-too-good salaries.

It will be interesting to recall that right from the early years of the Chinese Republic down to the eve of the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937, the Japanese had consistently urged upon the Chinese Government the employment of Japanese advisers. The notorious Twenty-One Demands specifically insisted that China employ Japanese advisers in "political, financial and military affairs." Later, in the thirties, the Japanese, in proposing the building up of a joint Sino-Japanese defense system against Communism, reiterated the same demand. Therefore it is not difficult to feel somewhat uneasy about Jap advisers.

Of course, things have changed a lot now that Japan is a vanquished country and China is supposed to be one of the Big five. The employment of Japanese advisers does not seem to present such a serious problem as it did in the past. However, the question still remains: Is it absolutely necessary to employ Japanese advisers in developing Hainan Island? And what assurance is there that the Japanese advisers and technicians are working faithfully for the Chinese?

It would be an intolerable insult to the Chinese to say that right here in this country it is impossible to find any Chinese economist, engineer or industrialist who is sufficiently qualified to be an adviser to the Chinese Government on the development of Hainan Island. We refuse to believe that Horiuchi and other Japanese advisers could not be replaced by Chinese advisers, who might do the same job much better or at least just as well.

A careful study of the problem seems to indicate that the employment of Japanese advisers and technicians has been made necessary by

PUNCH BRINGS A BIT OF HISTORY UP TO DATE

Punch

"Compliments of the Committee on Un-Athenian Activities, Socrates."

"A HOLDING OPERATION"

Press in The Newark Evening News

other factors. It is an open secret that Japan is counting heavily on iron ores from Hainan for stepping up her industrial production. According to reports in the Chinese press, an agreement has been concluded, providing for the shipment of 210,000 tons of iron ore from Hainan to Japan.

As early as January of this year *Reuter* disclosed that "the Yawata Iron Works on Kyushu Island—Japan's largest steel production center—will produce 70,000 tons of pig iron, 78,000 tons of steel ingot and 54,000 tons of steel material during the first quarter of this year. This represents a considerable increase over the quota for the period allotted by the Ministry of Commerce and Industry and the increase is being made possible by expected arrival of iron ore from Hainan Island."

On April 16, 6,600 tons of Hainan iron ore arrived at Kobe. In reporting this shipment, the official *Central News Agency* stressed that "Hainan Island iron ore has been the mainstay of the Japanese iron and steel industry during the past few months." The *Financial Daily* of April 24 revealed that more than 8,788 tons of iron ore were expected to be sent to Japan from Hainan. This shipment is said to be the eighth of its kind.

The Japanese are forging ahead with little fanfare with their five-year plan for postwar economic recovery This year, Japan needs to import 700,000 tons of iron ore and 1,000,000 tons of salt. It is generally believed that the bulk of these needs will come from China.

This may be one reason why Japanese advisers and technicians are eager and willing to work hard on Hainan Island for "not-too-good salaries. However, if the development of Hainan is designed to benefit China and not merely to meet the present needs of the Japanese, then Chinese advisers and Chinese technicians should be given priority.

25 Years Ago In The *Weekly Review Of The Far East*

May 5, 1923.

Penniless China

Everyone wondered when China defaulted to Japan on her telegraph equipment loan of 20,000,000 yen, which fell due April 30, that Japan did not seize the Chinese telegraphs, as she had a right to do under the contract. There is also a loan on which the telephone equipment is security, just as the equipment of the telegraph service is security for the loan that has matured and for wnich the Japanese long have been whistling even for their interest. But there is a bigger stake. Japan also has as loan securities the wireless stations of the Chinese Government at Peking, Wuchang, Woosung, Canton and Kalgan. She also has a contract made in 1918 giving her a monopoly for 30 years on the development of wireless communication in China. As will be seen, it is the power of Japan to control absolutely the electric communications of China and through defaults of interest, and now of principal, to place her own nationals in charge and thus to place all other foreigners at a distinct disadvantage.

* * *

Force Has Failed

"The attempt of General Wu Pei-fu of Loyang, one of the two leading militarists dictating the Peking government, to effect a nominal re-unification of China by force has failed. Shen Hung-ying, a former Kwangsi military chief to whom Peking has entrusted the task of suppressing the Constitutionalist Movement headed by Dr. Sun Yat-sen in Canton, is being defeated in the conflict started by him on April 15, when his army, outwardly a unit under Dr. Sun, mutinied against Canton. . . The more substantial Cantonese are all opposed to this war and the struggle for political power through assassination and party persecutions, but they do not see how any improvement can be possible when the President at Peking becomes an accomplice in the present policy being pursued in South China.

10 Years Ago In *The China Weekly Review*

May 7, 1938.

China Youth Party

Warm support to the Central Government in the present war of resistance against Japanese aggression was . . . pledged by the China Youth Party in a letter addressed to General Chiang Kai-shek and Wang Ching-wei, the Tsung Tsai and Fu Tsung-tsai of the Kuomintang. The letter, signed by Tso Shun-sheng, leader of the Party, pointed out that though the China Youth Party firmly believed in ultimate success of the campaign, greatest care should be exercised in the prosecution of the campaign. Declaring that the ideas of the Kuomintang are identical with those of the China Youth Party, as both aim at national salvation and reconstruction, the letter urged that all political parties in China should accept Dr. Sun Yat-sen's *San Min Chu I.*

* * *

Communist Denial

Denying any attempt to undermine the Kuomintang Government, Chou En-lai, Communist leader at Hankow, denounced as "a very clever forgery" a widely circulated pamphlet entitled "The Chinese Communist Party's Policy." The pamphlet alleged that the Chinese Communist Party was plotting to isolate the Kuomintang, eventually overthrow the National Government and set up a Communist state in China. Mr. Chou reiterated the Communist Party's "sincere desire to cooperate with the Kuomintang in a united front against Japanese aggression." Chungking police, according to a *Reuter* report, raided (April 22) various bookstores throughout the city and seized all leftist literature. It was reported that the books seized were chiefly Communist publications criticizing the policies of the National Government.

What Do We Expect Of President Chiang?

C. Y. W. Meng

THROUGHOUT the country, national flags were hoisted on April 12 to celebrate the election of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek as the first constitutional President of China. While we join the people in sending greetings to the new President, we cannot help but point out the important fact that the occasion, jubilant as it is, signifies that the President now carries with him heavier burdens and greater responsibility than ever before. Now is the time for him to make some momentous decision in history. There is now a chance—a golden chance—for him to put China in order.

We do not have to be a psychologist to understand the present mentality of many Chinese. In the minds of many patriotic Chinese and intellectuals, there are doubtless many inquiries: What will the President do next? Will the President exercise the sweeping emergency powers provided in the first amendment of the Constitution adopted by the National Assembly and assume the role of a dictator of China? Will the President lead the people down the "Democratic Road?" Will the President create some chance to restore peace in the country? When will the Civil War be ended?

These are some of the questions which have come spontaneously to the minds of many Chinese. These are the subjects which have been discussed often since the election day. It is up to the first constitutional President to give answers to these questions, not by issuing lengthy manifestoes, but by deeds.

A Dangerous Precedent

As we learn from the amendment known as "Temporary Provisions," of the Constitution, the power as well as the authority of the President is now greatly enlarged, for: "During the period of national crisis, the President may, without previous authority of the Legislative Yuan, take measures to avert and protect the security of the state and people, or cope with any serious financial or economic problem provided such measures should have been approved by the Executive Yuan."

To students of political science and constitutional law, emergency powers can be granted to the President by the Legislative body without having to amend the Constitution. This amendment is a most dangerous precedent and is sure to have the ultimate ruinous effect of destroying a democratic government. It is a fatal blow to the development of a constitutional system which usually provides a check between the executive branch of the government and the popularly-elected legislative body.

In our opinion, the delegates to the National Assembly, including Mo Teh-hui who proposed the amendment, have done great harm to the nation by inserting these "Temporary Provisions" in the Constitution, and by putting the President in the awkward position of indicating that he wants more sweeping powers before accepting the candidacy. (The President had steadfastly refused to run for the presidency before.)

However, this reminds us of one conversation in Chungking between the President and General Patrick Hurley, then American Ambassador to China, when the President was reported to have said: "If I become a dictator, I will be forgotten, like all dictators in our history, within 48 hours after my death. But if I sincerely work to return power to the people, I will be remembered as the George Washington of China. Can there be doubt of my choice?"

From this, we know that the President is sincere in what he said. He has no ambition to become a dictator of China, though by exercising his emergency powers, he could, if he wished. We people, too, never like a dictatorship. But that is not enough, Mr. President. Your Excellency must lead the people to the "Democratic Road."

In our opinion, what China needs most today is: (1) an above-all-party leader, (2) a strong but democratic chief executive, and (3) a representative government. Putting them together in detail, the form of the government desired in China may be described thus: A representative government based on the will of the people, under the direction of an above-all-party leader, with a strong but democratic chief executive, capable of enforcing the national policy and laws, and of protecting the interest and welfare of the people, and with the people strong and well enough informed to maintain their sovereign control over the Government.

This is the most appropriate form of government for China during present transitory stage, during this period of confusion and bewilderment. The nation does not like a dictator, but we know the Chinese people do hope that the President will become an above-all-party leader and a strong but democratic chief executive to form a representative government.

This form of government under the direction of one supera-party leader and one strong but democratic chief executive is materially different from a dictatorship in that the President may direct the administration with a strong hand, but in so doing he will be carrying out, not his own will, but the will of the people. He pays a great deal of attention to and has respect for public opinion. He is most responsive and receptive to public criticism, and is most sensitive and amenable to public sentiment. His whole administration, in short, is guided by public opinion. Open-mindedness, impartiality, fair dealing and justice to all are his cardinal principles of administration.

Therefore, after this election, our first hope for the first constitutional President is that he will form such a government without delay, and provide an adequate chance for the people to maintain their sovereign control over the government. The President should see to it that he, as head of the state, should now put aside his status of a *Chung Tsai* (Director-General) of the Kuomintang, but assume more the role of an above-all-party leader to act, not as a participant in, but as an arbitrator of all party disputes.

Constitutional Morality

Secondly, as she has just entered the "Constitutional Period," China must have a good start. The first thing for the first constitutional President to do is to impress upon his people the great importance of the principle of "Constitutional Morality," and put it into full application. By this principle is meant: "The submission of the minority, the practice of tolerance by the majority, and the observance of good sportsmanship in political struggle." The Kuomintang, the Chinese Communist Party, the China Youth Party, the National-Socialist Party and all others must observe this great principle. China will have no peace and unity, and Chinese politics will not be on the right track unless this great constitutional principle is inculcated in the minds of Chinese politicians at the very beginning.

Thirdly, no constitution is complete, and therefore, requires constant implementation efforts. For centuries, Great Britain has been governed by an unwritten constitution. Throughout his administration under present circumstances in China, the President should be able to create a number of good Constitutional precedents. These precedents will go down in the annals of Chinese constitutional history as parts of China's unwritten Constitution and will be just as important as the written one.

The first constitutional precedent in this direction is that the President should refuse to exercise the emergency powers provided in these "Temporary Provisions" which have received no approval from the people. In other words, anything that does not receive public approval, even though it has been adopted by the National Assembly, should not be acted upon by the President.

Fourthly, as a demonstration of his faith in democracy, and for the purpose of promoting constitutional development, a strong but democratic Chief Executive does not only pay due respect to public opinion, but always keeps in close contact

with the people. He is always anxious to honor the dignity of man —not a few "important men," nor rich men, nor a handful of powerful men, such as the financial and industrial magnates in commercial centers, but the "Common Man" in the country.

To him, outspoken editorials and articles and "Letters to Editor" columns of the country's leading papers are most valuable sources of information. He studies this information, and pays a great deal of attention to trends of public opinion. He acts on them. He takes every step to nourish the growth of public opinion. To him, the granting of freedom and security to the people in his solemn duty.

Wanted: A Strong Cabinet

Fifthly, under present circumstances in China, after his inauguration the first thing which the first constitutional President must do is to form the strongest and most powerful cabinet in the nation's history to tide over the national crisis, to be composed of all intelligent and enterprising men, "Men Who Believe in Their Century," men who can really command respect and hold the confidence of the people, irrespective of their party affiliations. China hopes that every one of her cabinet ministers will suffer from a "tired heart" due to overwork.

The President should take strong action to wipe out corruption and nepotism in officialdom and he should gather more talented men around him. At present, with the exception of Dr. Wei Tao-min, a civilian and Chairman of the Provincial Government of Taiwan, all other provincial chairmen are military men. In the United States the "Military Moves In," but in China, the military has already been in too long, and many of the military men are entirely out of touch with the realities of the situation and the times. Some of them have been in their posts for the past 15 or 20 years, but have very poor records of administration. Let them go now, and let more "20th Century Men" take their place.

At the same time, the President should form a strong multi-partisan advisory staff, economic as well as social, by mobilizing the economic experts and "social chemists" of the country to study the nation's pressing economic, land and social problems, with a view to working out some satisfactory solutions. It should always be his intention to lead the people in welcoming the era which is coming.

In other words, the first constitutional President should be a strong but democratic chief executive, in that he should be strong in taking whatever drastic actions are necessary in order to deal with corrupt and delinquent officials, speculators and hoarders, reactionaries and "jingoist militarists," plain-clothed men and "ruffians," no matter to which clique they may belong. But the President should be democratic in dealing with the people; he should meet them, know them, talk with them, hear their grievances, and discuss with them openly possible remedical measures which may be worked out. These are some of the important characteristics of an above-all-party leader and the strong but democratic chief executive whom China needs most today.

As to the present world problem—"Tomorrow's World: Is It Going Left or Right?"—his answer should be that our choice need not be between extremes of right or left, between over-centralized big government and a do-nothing policy, between private enterprise and socialism, between an arrogant red-tape-ridden bureaucracy and domination by a few private monopolies, but that there is a middle course for us to take. Therefore, on his inauguration day, the President should announce that China is taking such a middle course, and with this course in mind the President should work out our domestic and foreign policy.

"Ism" Unwanted

This brings to mind one conversation between the late President Roosevelt and a reporter. The reporter asked the President:

"Mr. President, are you a communist?"
"No."
"Are you a capitalist?"
"No."
"Are you a socialist?"
"No."
The young reporter asked: "Well, what is your philosophy, then?"
"Philosophy?" asked the President, puzzled. "I am a Christian and a Democrat—that is all."

We should say that a leader in this tumultuous and divided world must adopt the same attitude. He must have no leanings toward any "ism" and refuse most stubbornly to be any "ist," but he must work solely for the welfare of the people in his country, assume the role of a greater experimenter, and entertain a wide world outlook.

There is no doubt that China needs a leader, a constructive leader, an above-all-party leader, a leader of the same calibre as the late President Roosevelt, to lead the nation out of the present crisis.

If we were to put the same questions asked Roosevelt before China's first constitutional President, we hope he would give us the same "No." And to our question—"What is your phisolophy, then?"—his answer should be: "Political freedom, economic equality and social security for all—That is all."

These are the ways which will lead us to the "Democratic Road" on which the people want to walk. If these principles which we have enumerated in the foregoing paragraphs are accepted and put into application, half of the Chinese Communist problem will be solved, and the Chinese communists will have already half met their "Waterloo."

How To Deal With CP

Shortly before the convocation of the National Assembly, professors of some national and government universities in Nanking and Peiping issued manifestoes on the "Present Political Situation" in the country, details of which were published in the Shanghai Edition of *Ta Kung Pao* and do not need any further citation by us here. The recent Globe Customer Survey in Shanghai further reveals that "Civil War is China's No. One Public Enemy."

There is no denying the fact that the nation is now most anxious to see the end of the present fratricidal war at the earliest possible date. There is also no doubt that the Chinese Communist problem is the most difficult one.

But, as discussed in the foregoing, if these principles which we have offered are accepted and put into application, half of the Communist problem will be solved. The measures needed in dealing with the remaining half include:

1. Abandon the policy of "He who is not for us is against us," and lift the ban on organizations of the people and on publications.
2. Suppress the activities of the plain-clothes men and "ruffians" in the country.
3. Differentiate between a Communist agitation and a redress of grievances. While the former may be an offense, the latter is a constitutional right. Do not make the terrible mistake of regarding them as one and the same. They are not.
4. Do not attempt to divide the people into two opposite camps, but help them to distinguish right and wrong by themselves.

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5. Provide more adequate constitutional machinery by which the people may express their approval and discontent.

6. Uphold rule by law, *even in the time of emergency.*

The purpose for advancing these half dozen measures is that if the Government does not adopt them, more harm than good will come to the Government side.

What has been going on recently, however, is just the opposite. We have witnessed the establishment of the "Special Criminal Courts" amidst strong opposition from the jurists, legislators and the people. What happened to the students in Peiping in the first part of April is heart-breaking.

> "One student (Lu Yi-tun) of the National Peiping University on the way to Wei Wen Middle School to visit his sister was stopped by secret police at the gate who, brandishing pistols, tried to force him to confess that he was a Communist agent. The student refused, and he was beaten and detained for four hours." (*Associated Press* report from Peiping dated April 2.)
>
> "About 50 demonstrators belonging to 'Anti-Strike, Anti-Violence, Traitor-Liquidation Committee' rushed into the professors' dormitory of the National Peiping University through a side gate, ripping the doorman's room apart, breaking all window panes, and smashing telephones, meters, fusebox and desks. Two hours after the demonstrators massed outside of the university, they moved on for an unknown destination, singing the Chinese national anthem. Some said they were proceeding toward the Peiping Normal College which suffered a midnight raid recently." *(United Press* report from Peiping dated April 12.)

So far, no arrest of any of these "ruffians" or demonstrators by local police or gendarmes has been reported. There is no doubt that both professors and students feel that they are without any protection. Is this not a state of lawlessness?

In citing these ugly instances, we do not mean to hint that these ruffians and demonstrators are actually agents of the Government. What we do want to point out is that it is the Government's duty, in the face of justice, to suppress all such illegal and outrageous activities.

Another important point is that when these activities are permitted, the Government is not suppressing communism, but is actually inviting it. It is a well known fact that communism lives—and flourishes—on discontent. Communism will remain a feeble force in any country where conditions are satisfactory to the people. Therefore, in our opinion, to uphold rule by law, even during the present "Communist Suppression Campaign Period," and to demonstrate to the people that those of them who live in Government areas will have *more* freedom and enjoy *more* security than those in Communist-dominated areas is the most sharp and effective weapon to combat and repel communism.

Causes Of Discontent

In uttering these words, we are not acting as apologists or attorneys for the students or the Communists. What we want to stress here is that the present method of dealing with the Communist problem is most clumsy, and may cause the total loss of the support of Chinese intellectuals for the Government side. This would be most dangerous.

In our view, the Government might do well to find out the cause of the present widespread discontent and attempt to stop the trouble at the source. If there are any constructive alternatives to take, we strongly urge that the Government take them and exploit all possibilities.

What a mixture is China today—old and new, feudal and modern, oxcarts and limousines, buses and rickshas, skyscrapers and slums. Our minds are like that, too, Mr. President.

In Shanghai, for example, the rich can pay $6,000,000 a day for a room in the Park Hotel, $60,000,000 or more for an overcoat, and $60,000,000 or $70,000,000 for a dancing party, while on the street there are countless numbers of the poor, the sick, the aged, the weak, the crippled and the blind. If one takes a short walk in Shanghai today, he will be stopped many times by these unfortunate people begging for his mercy. So far, there is no "Soak the Rich Tax," though the Ministry of Finance has been talking a lot of the "Special Relief Contribution," and resolution after resolution concerning the "Use of the Richman's Wealth" has been adopted. There is not the slightest form of any social security for the people. In China, the chasm between the rich and the poor is vast. Everywhere, we can see striking contrasts. Everywhere, we can vividly see human misery. Here is one of the principal causes of discontent. Here is the problem, and it has nothing to do with Communist agitation.

Constructive Alternatives

After the inauguration, the nation certainly hopes that the first constitutional President will demonstrate his leadership and statesmanship, and devise new and constructive ways to cope with the internal situation and the Communist problem, ways going beyond and deeper than the military suppression campaign. To make full use of the present anti-Civil War resentment among the people in forcing the Communists to come to terms, is one. To deliberately encourage the rapid growth of liberalism and "Third Force" which might stand between the Kuomintang and the Communists is another.

He might even go as far as to request another "Peace Talk" with the Communists. He might well state most plainly to the nation all possible concessions to which the Government might agree, and he might also declare most explicitly those terms on which the Government would agree to "Cease Fire." He might well invite the people to express themselves freely and to act as a judge. He must convince the people that it is the Communists, not the Government, who want to continue the war. To keep the people in darkness is not the best policy. To keep the people from expressing themselves in this hour of national crisis through the enforcement of the "General Mobilization Order" and the "Emergency Measures for Dealing with the Offenses Endangering the Security of the State during the Period of the Communist Suppression Campaign," is equally inadvisable.

Such steps, in our opinion, will not lower presidential prestige, but on the contrary, will brighten and heighten it. It is because he would be simply speaking for the people and fighting for internal peace in the country, that he would be sure to have the whole-hearted support of the people.

These steps, together with a policy of "People First, and Public Opinion Decides," with the formation of the strongest and most popular cabinet in history, and with a thorough house cleaning and reform program, will help immensely to win the support of the people to the government side and to soften the strength of the Communist side. To start a mere, belated "Land Reform Program" is not sufficient to cope with the Communist menace. The President must go much further than that, and must take more far-sighted steps in domestic reform as well as in the diplomatic field. To act as go-between, to ease the U.S.A.-U.S.S.R. tension, is a task logically belonging to President Chiang Kai-shek since the death of President Roosevelt and the retirement of Mr. Churchill. This can only be done by putting our own house in order first.

In other words, there is no doubt that President Chiang Kai-shek is our leader, the *only* leader at present who can lead us out of the morass we are in. We also wish to honor him as China's George Washington. We also know that he will not become a dictator. But that is not enough. We all hope that he will lead us to the "Democratic Road," and that he will become a strong but democratic chief executive in China with an elaborate reform program for change—for sweeping changes in our life, in our institutions and in our mind. We hope he has a plan to stop the Civil War through the cooperation and assistance of the nation's liberal and progressive elements, the "Third Force," when he steps into China's "White House."

He has a momentous decision to make. This is his chance—a golden chance to put China in order. This is what the 450 million people and all China's well-wishers are hoping for from China's first constitutional President.

JAPAN: PRELIMINARY TO RETOOLING

HUGH DEANE

Tokyo, April 15 (Airmail).

THE economic mission headed by Undersecretary of the Army William Draper left behind a bullish stock market and a conviction in Japanese business circles that this year will be, in the words of a Bank of Tokyo bulletin, "a year of green light for Japan."

Japanese business and political leaders believe that they will obtain up to US$1,000,000,000 in 1948 and substantial sums for at least five more years.

They believe that reparations is practically a dead issue, that with the possible exception of primary war facilities all means of production now in Japan will stay here.

They are confident that the anti-monopoly Economic Deconcentration Law, which General MacArthur forced through the Diet despite heavy fire from *Newsweek* and other business organs, will not be used to effect basic changes in the control of the Japanese economy. At a press conference Mr. Draper indicated that the law will be "implemented with common sense."

The Draper Mission gave leading American businessmen a chance to hold discussions with their Japanese counterparts.

The six important American delegates represented nearly a score of powerful banks and industries including Dillon, Read & Co. (investment bankers), Studebaker Corporation, Chemical Bank and Trust, Guaranty Trust, New York Central Railroad, United Airlines, New York Life Insurance and Cannon Mills.

The Japanese group included representatives of the Bank of Japan, the Bank of Tokyo (formerly Yokohama Specie Bank), Japan Steel Tube, Mitsubishi Heavy Industry, Japan Electric Machinery and the Federation of Economic Organizations. The Americans also talked to Premier Ashida and other officials.

The Japanese did not get everything they asked for. Their request for credits totaling US$3,000,000,000 was termed excessive. Their suggestions that occupation economic policy be revised in the direction of fewer governmental controls were heard with some sympathy but were countered with the advice that Japanese laws pertaining to foreign investment and taxation be amended.

The Americans indicated clearly where the ultimate control of the Japanese economy would lie. The Japanese asked that they be allowed to administer the Economic Deconcentration Law. Mr. Draper emphasized publicly that a review board of five Americans will be the final authority.

The Americans also stressed that "Japan must do everything possible to help herself"—perhaps a hint to Japanese business that the time for inflation and production slowdown has passed.

But the differences between the two groups were the minor ones of traders intent upon agreement. No American questioned the necessity of rehabilitating Japan as the "workshop of Asia." The two groups agreed on the immediate need of political and economic stability in Japan and on the long-term desirability of removing economic controls and restoring free private enterprise.

The general satisfaction of the Japanese is indicated by the fact they again believe that they have a role to play in the Far East.

"Japan's role in stabilizing the Orient has now been correctly appraised," the Tokyo daily *Mainichi* commented. The paper looked forward to the "speedy recovery of the relationship of division of labor in the Orient"—apparently meaning that Japan will manufacture while the rest of eastern Asia supplies raw materials.

Japan's reviving interest in Asia was also noted in a recent speech by Premier Ashida. Japan is "especially perturbed over the political in-

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stability of neighboring nations in the Far East," he said.

In a small way Japan is already resuming economic activity beyond her shores. Three Japanese iron mining specialists, for example, have left for Hainan Island where they will work under Clement Jennings, American engineer, to develop iron ore production. Occupation officials commented here that Hainan is of vital importance to the redevelopment of Japanese steel production.

Mr. Draper indicated that the first financial aid to Japan will be supplied by the United States Government, that private American investment will not be immediately forthcoming. Presumably American business will wait for some months till the expenditure of public funds has made Japan a better risk.

That Japan is not the best risk was recognized by Premier Ashida when he told the Diet, "It is necessary for us to perfect such conditions.... as will induce foreign capitalists to invest gladly in Japan's industries."

The *Oriental Economist* was more explicit: "Frankly speaking, the general outlook for foreign credits is not at all optimistic. The reduction of the juridical person tax and the abolition of dividend restrictions have improved the position of industrial and business corporations. However, investments in Japan are still regarded as risky and uncertain because of continued political instability and the mounting labor offensive. To pave the way for the inflow of foreign credits, therefore, we should strive to better these conditions."

Since these statements were made, however, both the occupation authorities and Japanese business and government have either taken or planned measures to improve conditions from an investor's point of view.

The "mounting labor offensive" has been halted by two edicts from General MacArthur. The first, on March 29, forbade a 24-hour protest strike of over a million government workers, the culmination of a months-old labor dispute. The unions, however, immediately resumed what are called here "piston strikes"—coordinated, 24-hour strikes by union locals—and 48 hours after the first order 350,000 government workers and coal miners were on strike. Then MacArthur issued a second order banning "a systematic or organized series of related work stoppages.... in a single industry or a group of industries."

On April 1 Premier Ashida stated that labor laws should be revised "as a measure to attract foreign capital" and declared himself in favor of legislation "similar to the American Taft-Hartley law." A few days later, however, he said that such legislation was not then being considered by the cabinet.

Various business organs and newspapers have begun a campaign for revision of the US-sponsored Labor Standards Law, designed to abolish sweatshop labor. They claim that Japanese industry operates at too low a technological level to be able to afford the high labor standards required by the law.

The Federation of Economic Organizations, for example, recently submitted a series of recommendations to the government with a view to facilitating foreign investment. It urged that the government "give proper consideration to the Labor Standards Law in accordance with changes in the political situation." It also suggested that corporate taxes be reduced, that the excess profits tax be abolished and that foreign investors be guaranteed an interest rate of 10 percent.

Government and business leaders also have been cognizant of the "continued political instability" referred to by the *Oriental Economist*. This instability is attributed largely to the Communists, who are said to be "sabotaging production" and trying to "create chaos."

"In view of the fact that certain elements are exerting baneful influences, abetting labor disputes and causing social unrest and disruption of industry, determined steps will be taken to counter their activities," Premier Ashida promised in his first speech to the Diet following his assumption of office.

He later declared that in these times of crisis, freedom of speech must be exercised "with restraint."

The government has disclosed plans to organize a "special standing police force" which is required "for emergency purposes." A Marine Pacification Board, with a fleet of 28 former minelayers and "special duty submarines," will be established on May 1, Transportation Minister Seiichi Okada announced.

The government also is preparing amendments to laws governing corporate enterprise and taxation. One bill to be submitted to the Diet will give foreigners the right to develop mineral resources. In July the occupation authorities will issue new regulations pertaining to foreign investments in Japan.

Important personnel changes have taken place in the Economic Stabilization Board, which is now headed by Takeo Kurusu, former governor of the Japan Industrial Bank. Socialist-minded economists who came in with the Katayama Cabinet last spring have now been replaced by business and banking experts.

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RISING 'HOODLUMISM' IN U. S.

Edward Rohrbough

NEW YORK, April 19.

LAST night we were invited to a small American Labor Party club in the Bronx to talk about China. The American Labor Party is a political party of some 12 years, background in New York, and, while its platforms have been more consistantly liberal than those of either the Democrat or Republican Parties, the ALP has about the same sort of history as either of the major parties. It has constant fights between its right and left wings. It has had its defeats and its victories. Fiorella LaGuardia was a member of the ALP. So is Representative Vito Marcantonio and so is Representative Leo Isaacson, who recently upset Boss Ed Flynn's Democratic machine in the Bronx by winning an off-schedule election to fill the seat in Congress left vacant when a Congressman resigned to take a position on the Federal bench.

At any rate, we discovered upon arrival, that this particular ALP club was about like any other small, neighborhood ALP club. The 25 members or so assembled were small businessmen, professional people and skilled laborers. The club room was on the ground floor with a glass-paned door opening on the street, and the walls were decorated with photographs of street scenes from the Bronx and with portraits of ALP City Councilman, Eugene Connolly and of third party candidate for the presidency, Henry Wallace, whom the ALP is inclined toward. There was also a picture of ALP City Councilman Mike Quill who has recently withdrawn from the New York CIO council because of its "red" action in supporting Henry Wallace over the opposition of Phil Murray, President of the National CIO.

A young housewife told me the usual procedure of the meetings. The guest speaker, in this case your correspondent, usually talked for half an hour, after which there was a discussion period of an hour.

The program began and we had devoted some 10 minutes to expounding our views on China and the Chinese Civil War when two young men appeared before the door (which opened on the street, remember?) and began shouting and rattling the door. A young woman, who happened to be sitting closest to the door, got up and opened it. One of the young men threw something and the young woman recoiled quickly as it struck her in the face and then charged out the door after them. Two men got up and followed her.

The housewife told me calmly, "Go ahead, please. It's nothing."

She turned to someone else and said, "Call the police and tell them we have hoodlums again."

We went on talking and presently the young woman and the men came back. She had not been hurt and she thought it was a handful of salt they had thrown in her face. One of the men stayed near the door to meet the police and tell them of the incident so the discussion period would not be disturbed.

Later the housewife told me such incidents are getting to be fairly common. Four out of seven nights in the preceeding week, young roughnecks had tried to wreck the clubroom or to break up the meeting going on inside. Once they had thrown rocks from across the street until the lone woman inside at the moment had felt it prudent to withdraw and lock the place. Another night, the hoodlums had dropped a firecrackers through the mail-slot.

"The police are very cooperative about helping us now," said the housewife. "We showed them copies of letters we were going to send Commissioner Wallender and they assigned two plain-clothes men to watch."

The detective arrested two of the young hoodlums and discovered they were both wanted on charges of burglary and petty thievery. But one of the hoodlums made the revealing comment that he "had been told" the ALP club was a "bunch of Communists."

Veteran Groups

"You know," said the young housewife, "The Shamrock Chapter of the Catholic Veterans is just around the corner."

By itself, the incident of last night at the little ALP club in the Bronx is not very important. Unfortunately, it cannot be considered as an isolated incident. In Indianapolis a Wallace meeting was attacked by hoodlums and a number of people were beaten. In Brooklyn another Wallace meeting was broken up recently by assailants among whom Catholic Veterans were prominent. In Rochester a Communist Party meeting was broken up and its literature burned by demonstrators who included the American Legion, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, and the Catholic Veterans. In Columbus, Ohio, the home of a Communist Party organizer was wrecked by a mob. And in Newark, city police have granted a permit for the Veterans of Foreign Wars to hold a street-corner meeting with loudspeakers outside a Wallace meeting scheduled for next Friday night.

So the small incident at the Bronx ALP club last night becomes part of a pattern and the pattern is not pretty. In this country where freedom of speech has long been a basic element of democracy, one finds a trend towards suppression of that freedom by violence. And the trend emanates from certain "civic groups" and religious orders, as well as from the Hearst press which has incurred responsibility for more than one political and race riot in the past.

According to one who was present at the Brooklyn Wallace meeting, the Catholic Church must assume heavy responsibility for that disorder. Our informant says that lines of Catholic Veterans, armed with sticks and clubs, advanced upon those who had gathered to listen, but that behind the vets were a number of priests who urged the vets constantly to more violent action.

Truman's Stand

President Truman, who has labeled Wallace's followers as "Communists," and who has refused to make any pronouncement against the violence of Indianopolis and elsewhere, must also bear some of the responsibility for a spirit of political violence unlike anything in this country since 1919, when according to John Dos Passos, "An IWW was in more danger in the United States in 1919 than a German had been in on the Western Front in 1917."

In the face of this trend, the most encouraging thing we can report is the attitude of the members of the little ALP club which was expressed by the housewife.

"They're trying to intimidate us and keep us from having meetings," she told us calmly, "but they can't."

We have a great deal of faith in the housewife and the members of that little club and we believe there are a lot more like them in this country than the Shamrock Chapter and their counterparts think.

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Vitamin "E" In Human Nutrition

NUTRITIONISTS tell us that the richest vitamin E-bearing foods are wheat germ, cotton-seed, corn, and hempseed oils, and green, leafy vegetables.

Among your acquaintances how many do you know who include good amounts of these oils in their diets? How many do you know who would attempt to consume 10 heads of lettuce—which is said to be one of the best sources of vitamin E—in one day? Yet that's the amount of lettuce it would take to provide just one minim, which is one drop, of vitamin E. Even if your friends tossed down whole beakers of these oils—even if they did put away such prodigious amounts of lettuce—they might still be deficient in vitamin E. For these oils, in order to be rich in vitamin E, must be unrefined and must be extracted by a cold-pressed process, and every leaf in the heads of lettuce should be green if it is to provide vitamin E.

As a source of E, oil from the wheat germ embryo is way out in front. But, of course, it isn't a part of our every-day eating habits. It is a dietary supplement, not a common food.

With these facts in mind, it is not surprising that Shute and Vogelsang, the brilliant research team who did the original work on vitamin E and heart disease, have stated that the increase in heart conditions is due to a widespread vitamin E deficiency. They point to the over-refinement of foods, the production-line system of growing vegetables, as contributing factors. And another investigator, Embreo, has written that an unequal distribution of vitamin E in foodstuffs means that many persons are getting less than the required amount of this nutriment. What is this widespread deficiency of vitamin E costing us in health? What is the price we are paying for breaking the natural laws of nutrition? Here is the bill: HEART DISEASE, MUSCULAR DISORDERS, AND FEMALE AND MALE SEX DYSFUNCTION.

HEART CONDITIONS

Doubting Thomases now find it impossible to deny the fact, as established by Shute and Vogelsang, that vitamin E deficiency can be responsible for heart diseases, and is of positive value in the treatment of them.

These investigators have reported that most patients suffering from angina pectoris were afforded prompt relief when from two to six hundred milligrams of vitamin E were administered daily. Patients suffering from rheumatic heart conditions were also improved; and twenty-eight experienced some improvement. Vogelsang states that there was a lapse of only six to 10 days before his patients responded to this vitamin E therapy.

MUSCULAR DISORDERS

Here are the muscular symptoms of vitamin E deficiency: inflammation of the muscles of the back, chest, and neck (fibrositis); a dull, aching pain across the loins (lumbago); a progressive weakening and degeneration of the fibers of the voluntary muscles (muscular dystrophy). Vitamin E is indispensable to the musculature, because it acts as a regulator in muscle functioning. It prevents a too great consumption of oxygen. Muscles deficient in vitamin E undergo a very definite chemical change. There is a decrease in creatine, a muscle juice necessary to proper muscle function, and the muscles also lose solids, such as nitrogen, glycogen, phosphorus, and other vital substances.

These muscular disorders are a part of the price we pay for vitamin E deficiency. And Steinberg clearly demonstrates this when he reports recovery from these symptoms with a dosage of 270 milligrams daily, for the first seven days, followed by a daily dosage of 50 to 90 milligrams for the following two weeks, with further dosage for maintenance.

SEX DYSFUNCTION (FEMALE)

Of all the vitamins, perhaps the most important to women is vitamin E. A deficiency of this vitamin in the female can cause seriously impaired reproduction, resulting in either complete sterility or habitual abortion.

Some authorities also attribute toxemias of pregnancy to a vitamin E deficiency; and it is further believed that poor lactation in nursing mothers is also a result of the lack of this nutrient. Vitamin E deficiency is known to be associated with vitamin A and B-complex deficiency in the suppression of normal menstruation, amenorrhea, as well as in the defective development of the uterine tissue. E has also been found effective in the treatment of menopausal symptoms; hot flashes and excessive perspiring. Christy administers 30 milligrams of E daily, for from one week to one month, and writes that improvement is positive. Hot flashes and excessive perspiration become less frequent and patients develop a calmer and healthier mental outlook.

SEX DYSFUNCTION (MALE)

Research has uncovered the fact that there is a close relationship between vitamin E and the hormonal secretions of the sex glands, male and female. Vitamin E does not replace the sex hormones, but neither do the hormones replace this vitamin. Research workers have noted that the response to hormones is much more rapid and effective when administered with vitamin E than when administered alone. (Please note this in connection with V.M. No. 250, the modern natural estrogenic hormone for topical application to the skin.)

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V.M. No. E-50

As has been emphasized, of all the sources of vitamin E, oil of the wheat embryo is by far the richest. It is well to bear in mind that the investigational work which has so firmly established the value of vitamin E was done with E as wheat germ oil—*and not with synthetic E.*

The natural vitamin E is a complex. It contains not only the active vitamin E principle—alpha tocopherol—but also the beta and gamma tocopherols. While these two latter factors are not as yet well understood nutritionally, there is no doubt that eventually we shall find that they are important components of vitamin E complex. Judging from past history in vitaminology, it is more than likely that all E factors will prove to support each other just as all of the vitamin B-complex factors are interdependent. In addition to the tocopherols, wheat germ oil also contains certain amounts of vitamin A. The synthetic alpha tocopherol contains neither the beta or gamma tocopherol, and is without any vitamin A content whatever.

Vitaminerals' product, No. E-50, is a 100 percent natural product. It is derived from the richest known source of natural vitamin E, the embryo of the wheat grain, fortified with vitamin E from vegetable oils. Nature plays no favorites, nor do we, and this blend of the *natural sources* of E gives us a *naturally balanced* formula.

The inexpensive, crystaline, so-called vitamin E is not all representative of the full therapeutic value of E from wheat germ and vegetable oils. Nature doesn't produce nutritive materials in absolutely isolated form. That is why Vitaminerals insist upon adhering to their long-established policy of working with the natural, "resultful" sources.

Three V.M. No. E-50 capsules provide 182 milligrams, or 150 International units of biologically active vitamin E, as well as those other factors which we have mentioned. Such potency is especially adaptable to conditions where the doctor feels that massive dosage is indicated.

With a widespread, national deficiency of vitamin E., V.M. E-50 is ideal for rapidly building up the body to a point where the deficiency of NATURAL vitamin E no longer exists. After this point has been attained such massive doses as provided in V.M. E-50 are no longer needed, as V.M. E-PLUS can, and does, assure an adequate daily intake for the maintenance of normal nutrition and well being.

Exclusive Sales Agents

VITAMINERALS — CHINA
220 Wei Fook Road—West
Canton, China
C. C. Fang, Manager

VITAMINERALS — HONGKONG
Pedder Building
G. P. O. Box 241
Hongkong.
C. P. Ho, Manager

Shanghai Office 90 Astor House, 43 Kinshan Rd.

VM. No. E

Vitamin E Perles

Description: A dietary supplement providing vitamin E processed from wheat germ and fortified with mixed tocopherols, providing the known principles of the vitamin E complex.

Ingredients: Wheat germ oil and concentrated mixed tocopherols from vegetable oils.

Potency: Three perles supply not less than 45 Milligrams of mixed tocopherols containing 36 Int. Units of vitamin E biological equivalency.

VM. No. E+ (Plus)

Vitamins E, A and Chlorophyll Capsules

Description: A dietary supplement providing vitamin E as contained in wheat germ oil and mixed tocopherols combined with natural vitamin A and chlorophyll in a carrier of vegetable oil.

Ingredients: Fish liver oil concentrate, wheat germ oil and mixed tocopherols from vegetable oils.

Potency: Three capsules supply not less than the following proportions of minimum adult daily requirements of vitamin A:

A.....125 percent (5000 Int. Units)
(From fish liver oil)
E—(Biol. Equivalency (36 Int. Units)
(From wheat germ and vegetable oils)
Chlorophyll Concentrate.....
(12.0 Milligrams)

The mixed tocopherols in this formula contain thirty-six Int. Units of vitamin E biological equivalency.

V.M. No. E-50

High Potency Vitamin E.
Special Dietary Product

Description: Formulated for use where massive vitamin E intake is desired.

Ingredients: Wheat germ oil and mixed tocopherols, from vegetable oil.

Potency: Three capsules supply not less than 150 Int. Units of Vitamin E—(Biol. Equivalency) as supplied by 182 milligrams of mixed tocopherols.

VITAMINERALS INC.

3636 Beverly Boulevard
Los Angeles California
Formulators of
Natural Vitamins Minerals
Endocrines Dietary Supplements

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The Review's English Lesson—XXX

Certain Titles and Their Usage, Differences between American and English Words; a Quotation from Winston Churchill and Idiomatic Expressions

In the following paragraph we will give you some titles and explanations of how people bearing these titles are to be addressed:

Mayor—If you are speaking to him say, "Mr. Mayor." Address the envelope of a letter to him, "His Honor the Mayor of Shanghai." Begin a letter to him with "Dear Sir:" Introduce him to another person as "Mayor So-and-so."

Admiral or Captain (Navy) — Speaking to him say, "Admiral So-and-so" or "Captain So-and-so." Address an envelope to "Admiral So-and-so" or "Captain So-and-so." Begin a letter with "Dear Sir:" Introduce as "Admiral So-and-so" or "Captain So-and-so of the Navy."

Bishop—Speak to him as "Bishop So-and-so." Address an envelope "To the Right Reverend Thomas A. So-and-so." Begin a letter with "Right Reverend and dear sir:" Introduce him as "Bishop So-and-so."

Priest—Speak to him as "Father" or "Your Reverence." Address an envelope to "The Reverend John So-and-so." Begin a letter to him with "Reverend and dear Sir:" Introduce him as "The Reverend Father So-and-so."

Protestant Clergyman—Speak to him as "Mr. So-and-so (if he is D. D. or LL. D., you call him Dr.; or Pastor if he is a Lutheran). Address an envelope to "The Reverend George So-and-so." Begin a letter with "My dear Sir:" Introduce him to others just as you address him when speaking to him.

University Professor—Speak to him as "Professor" when you are within the University or College and "Mr." elsewhere. If he holds such a degree, always call him "Dr." Address an envelope to him as "Professor" or "Associate Professor" or "Assistant Professor" or "Dr." Begin a letter to him as "Dear Sir:" Introduce him as "Professor" or "Dr.," if he holds a degree.

Ambassador—Speak to him as either "Your Excellency" or "Mr. Ambassador." Address an envelope to "His Excellency The American Ambassador, American Embassy, Nanking, China." Begin a letter to "Your Excellency." Introduce him as "The American Ambassador."

Consul—Speak to him as "Mr." or, in the case of a woman consul, "Mrs." or "Miss." Address an envelope to "John Smith, Esquire, American Consul." Begin a letter with "My dear Sir:" Introduce him just as you would speak directly to him.

In the following table we shall present to you some differences between words used by Americans and those used by English people. Some of these differences are considerable, so we think it is important to inform you of them: *

American	English
apartment	flat
automobile	motor-car
baby-carriage	perambulator or pram
bill (money)	banknote or note
biscuit	scone, or tea-cake
broiled (meat)	grilled
candy	sweets
cookie	biscuit
corn	maize or Indian corn
druggist	chemist
five-and-ten (store)	bazaar
raincoat	mackintosh
roast (of meat)	joint
scallion	spring onion
shoe	boot
spigot (or faucet)	tap
suspenders (men's)	braces
syrup	treacle
taxes	rates
aisle (theatre)	gangway
gasoline or gas	petrol
movies	flickers
saloon or tavern	public-house or pub

* These are taken from H. L. Mencken's book **The American Language**.

The quotation for this Lesson is taken from the speeches of Winston Churchill. This is from a speech given August 2, 1944:

"Let us go on, then, to battle on every front. Thrust forward every man who can be found. Arm and equip the forces in bountiful supply. Listen to no parley from the enemy. Vie with our valiant allies to intensify the conflict. Bear with unflinching fortitude whatever evils and blows we may receive. Drive on through the storm, now that it reaches its fury, with the same singleness of purpose and inflexibility of resolve as we showed to the world when we were all alone."

The idiomatic expressions and explanations for this week follow below:

"third force" — A recently invented term which has been used widely in Europe to describe the political forces which stand between the extreme right and the extreme left. The "third force" usually signifies those who favor a socialistic and democratic approach to the problems of government. Leon Blum in France is an example of the sort of person who belongs to the "third force."

"war of nerves"—a conflict carried on through psychological methods rather than the ordinary instruments of physical warfare. In a war of nerves the enemy attacks by using propaganda to frighten those he makes war against.

"steam-roller a program through"—to employ high-pressure tactics in gaining ones ends.

"unfreeze a report"—release a publication from the sources which have kept it secret.

"stomach the actions of such a government" —tolerate or bear with such actions. Is taken from the idea that if the stomach cannot tolerate a certain food, it regurgitates or throws it up. A slang expression.

Treasury Notes And Idle Funds

K. Stone

NANKING witnessed a State Council Meeting near the end of March. One of the decisions that would affect the man-in-street was the bill of "Short Term Treasury Notes" which was designated for absorbing idle funds of an astronomical magnitude. The Note, it was described, would be issued at a discount basis and would bear an interest of five percent per month. It was also learned that there was opposition in the Legislative Yuan. Nevertheless, it is believed that the bill will ultimately get through the legislative procedure although it may encounter some sort of opposition for "face". In the Nanking political arena, it is a paradox that opposition from the Legislative Yuan will not affect in the slightest manner the decisions of the Executive. Since preparation of the issue is in the wind, and reports of the Deputy Governor, Mr. Liu Kung-yung's Nanking tour come out in the open, it is to be expected that the birth of the Notes is near at hand. The writer, notwithstanding the views shared by those who are in favor of the issuance, however, has little faith in the bill, and would attempt to discuss the matter with those scholarly economists.

Treasury Notes

As a kind of short-term credit, Treasury Notes are, as a rule, issued by the Treasury. They mature in one year or less, bear no interest and are traded on a discount basis. Generally speaking, this kind of governmental obligation is offered to public subscription through the Central Bank by highest bidders. In the United States, Treasury Notes (or Short-Term Bonds) had not become a popular means of financing the Treasury until December 1929 when, amended on June 17, the same year, the Second Liberty Loan Act authorized their issuance. The reason the Treasury Notes have been adopted more and more extensively is because of their flexibility in financial channels which enables subscriptions of the full amount to be obtained at the lowest possible cost. This is in contrast to certificates of indebtedness which require more or less accurate judgment of money market conditions when fixing interest rates. The Treasury is thus assured of the best terms warranted by the conditions of the money market at any given time. Obviously, the issuance of Treasury Notes mainly is to finance temporary deficits of the Treasury and not to play the part of covering the fiscal deficit, which is left to the role of taxation and/or long term bonds.

By those scholarly Chinese "strategists" saturated with American knowledge of the "Open Market Operation System," it is believed that Treasury Notes, once thrown into the money market, will absorb beautifully a part of the idle funds and channel them to the Treasury booking, thus tightening the money market. As a result, speculation would be curbed by higher interest rates, and commodity prices would be relatively stabilized by this remedy of inflation. It is to be regretted that though the idea is slendid in principle, it may not work in practice, because the fact that China is at war is being neglected. It would be too careless for a statesman or "strategist" to neglect the fundamental causes of the idle funds, and decide his policy on mere illusion. Hence, to give an idea of the probable use of the Treasury Notes, we must first make a survey of the causes of idle funds here in China.

Causes of Idle Funds

The main cause of idle funds lies in the decline of production. The prevailing shortage of capital within and the overflow of idle funds outside the production field are the maladies of industry today. These two seemingly contrasting phenomena actually come from the same root—namely, the continual rising of commodity prices. The rise of commodity prices inevitably reduces the profit of production and discourages the flow of capital into the production field. Instead, the capital originally engaged in production will flow out from this field and join in speculation which is much more profitable under such abnormal conditions.

Capital in the form of currency will suffer from the menace of price booms. The one who keeps more currency will lose more. The man who loses the least is a speculator who does not keep his capital in the form of currency at all. Industrialists are bound to suffer under currency inflation because, by virtue of their trade, they have to keep a considerable part of their capital as currency for rigid purposes (such as the cost of labor, etc.) Furthermore, industry and commerce are handicapped in that they keep only one or a few kinds of merchandise. When commodity prices swing up, they gain only a book profit of the one or the few kinds of commodities they keep. But speculators can store whatever commodities they like, sell them at the peak of the prices, and buy in those which have not yet quite reached the peak. It seems that if one does not speculate, it would mean that he will deserve the privilege of being "exploited."

As has been said, speculation is the consequence of the rise of commodity prices. But the rise of commodity prices is the result of the decline of production which in turn is a favorite child of currency inflation. As it is known, currency inflation is the final resort to cover fiscal deficits. Since there is little hope of adopting any other method to improve the fiscal balance, currency inflation will most likely continue to worsen. Industry will remain the sufferer, and commodity prices will continue to rise unceasingly. The profits of production will be lowered further while capital will flow out from productive categories at an accelerating pace. It is clear that continued issuance of currency to cover budget deficits is the creator of idle funds.

Besides the currency inflation, abundance of idle funds is attributed to two secondary causes. First, under the menace of price booms, people keep their cash for a very short time. As soon as they are paid, they will buy daily necessities immediately. This is another reason for the flood of currency on the market. Secondly, as a result of the worsening military situation, capital flows from the warring areas to the few coastal cities and floods the money market there. However, these two causes are only secondary.

Elimination of Idle Funds

There are two ways of eliminating idle funds; either by checking the sources of the idle funds or by leading them into productive channels. Evidently the first way is out of question. Nowadays it would be a miracle to hope for the checking of inflation without a more healthful means of balancing the fiscal deficit. However, let us look into the second way. To lead the idle funds into productive channels, the prerequisite is to alleviate the many problems of industry today. What then are the problems of industry? First of all there is the lack of raw materials. Because of the geographical widening of the warring areas, choking of communications, bankruptcy on the farms, and the overburdening loads of heavy taxation, the supply of raw materials is shortening everyday. Imported raw materials are by no means favorable on account of the lack of foreign exchange. Another problem of industry is the narrowing of the market which is the result of the drop in the people's purchasing power, cutting off of the markets in rural areas and medium-sized cities, and suffocation of the overseas market due to the unreasonable foreign exchange policy. Even if these two major problems of industry are solved, it would not be difficult to imagine that any effort to induce idle funds into fields of production will be in vain, and the slogan "conducting idle funds into production channels" would not go very far beyond the stage of empty talk.

Function of Treasury Notes

Since the hope of eliminating idle funds vanishes with the prevailing difficulties of solving industry's problems, it is our opinion that the issuance of the Treasury Notes will only function to cover to some ex-

tent the fiscal budget of the war's finances. In other words, the Chinese Government borrows money from the market at high interest rates. This is simply a method of delaying the use of a part of the market's purchasing power and has nothing to do with the idle funds.

Even where such a delaying device is concerned, there will be difficulties also. At first it may have some effect, but later on it will have no effect at all. The point is what are they going to use to refund the matured Treasury Notes? In other countries, this depends on the pre-collection of taxes. But here it is obvious that taxation is unable to play the same part. Perhaps the selling of national enterprises may be one of the sources of refunding the matured Notes. However the effect of such action remains to be proven by facts. Maybe the issuance of a long term bond is another way. But nowadays who will care to secure a long-term bond under conditions of ever-depreciating value? There remain two ways: either by inflating the currency or by inflating the Treasury Notes. The former is a way out of nowhere and the latter is a way of plunging the Treasury Notes into a kind of "big denomination currency with interest."

In western countries, 95 percent of all transactions are based on check currency. Here in China, with the exception of the few big cities, the use of check currency is not very popular. The recent regulation promulgated to the effect that deposits by check cannot be drawn on the same day has discouraged many a depositor from placing his savings in banks. On the other hand, a major portion of deposits in native banks is industrialists' and speculators' circulation capital. Deposits-in-idle occupy only a very small portion. Therefore, even if the Treasury Notes are able to absorb this portion—not mentioning the ill luck on the part of the native banks—the amount is so small as compared with real idle funds that it is really insignificant.

When Treasury Notes are bid in the market, the discount rate should be fairly close to the commercial loan rate. Otherwise, of course, nobody will care to buy them. Assuming the rate to reach the commercial loan rate and say that a part of the idle funds is absorbed, the commercial loan rate will climb up to a new high in order to compete for capital. At that time, is the discount rate of Treasury notes to rise again? If so, high interest rates will prevail in the market. Speculation will be curbed to some extent (won't be too serious), but the genuine industrialists will find no way to finance themselves. The function of the Treasury Notes to conduct idle funds into productive channels will not be realized. If the discount rate does not follow the commercial loan rate, people will not buy the Treasury Notes. Even the expected benefits from delaying the use of a part of the market's purchasing power will not materialize. The issuance of the Notes will be a mere performance.

The Week's Business

WITH The Central Bank sticking to its official exchange rates, business during the week under review (ending May 5) was featured by rapidly increasing commodity prices which, of course, rendered commercial exports almost impossible in various fields.

News from abroad indicated that the value of the national dollar continued to decline. This was reflected in heavy local speculation in commodities on the one hand and in increasing activity on blackmarkets. Simultaneously, the shifting of idle funds from areas north of the Yangtze to areas south of the river gained in impetus.

Also during the week under review reports from Canton indicated that certain groups of industrialists do not even feel safe enough in regions "south of the Yangtze:" an exodus of factories from Canton to Hongkong was considered possible "if China's export-import control is not relaxed." Cantonese newspapers pointed out that the head of a large concern in Canton has told reporters that his factory and some other industrial establishments intend to follow the example set by Shanghai millowners who have migrated to Hongkong. Chief reason, it was added, is that import quotas are so small that several plants will be in no position to continue work due to lack of raw materials.

On the other hand, unrealistic foreign exchange rates have resulted in increased export smuggling.

Shanghai exporters recently have made it clear that the Government's present foreign exchange policy renders commercial exports impossible, whereas Government-run concerns still have chances to export. Such chances are shared by firms which directly or indirectly export by using smuggling gangs in either Shanghai or South China.

In this respect, a report published by a semi-official Chinese news agency stated that during the past few months the amount of foreign exchange obtained by The Central Bank from exports has declined. Issued on May 4, the report ran as follows:

"A monthly average of US$13,400,000 from exports was recorded in the first quarter of this year. An unofficial estimate of the total amount of foreign exchange from exports in April claims that it was less than US$10,000,000.

"This decline is attributed to intensified smuggling in the first place because of the low official exchange rate, and second, to the fact that traders escape settling the foreign exchange in full officially by reporting lower-than-actual prices to The Central Bank, and pocketing the balance directly by private arrangements with foreign purchasers."

Businessmen explain that while this may be true, the fact is that by no other means have commercial firms a chance to ship goods and to keep their offices running. The very fact that during the week under review some cotton textiles have gained around 15 percent on the Shanghai market within less than two days proves that the present systems of foreign exchange and foreign trade controls are outdated from any point of view.

Meanwhile, stock quotations also gained drastically during the week under review although brokers and operators stated that "compared with realistic exchange rates" most of the stocks dealt with on the Stock Exchange have gained "too little."

Curb exchanges, on the other hand, were extremely active and quotations gained both drastically and rapidly.

The money market was comparatively easy with interest rates on the open market fluctuating between 24 percent and 26 percent per month whereas interest rates on the Stock Exchange were reported to have been around 30 percent.

Further developments can be grasped from the table below:

Quotations

Stock	Apr. 28 CNC$	May 5 CNC$
Wing On Textile	2,030	2,580
Mayar Silk	—	4,300
Commercial Press	605	720
Wing On Co.	600	695
Ewo Cotton	3,210	4,390,000
Bond C	135,000	184,000

Commodity	Apr. 28 CNC$	May 5 CNC$
White Rice, first	3,900,000	4,750,000
Wheat Flour	1,385,000	1,600,000
Peanut Oil	9,200,000	11,500,000
Raw Silk "C"	410,000,000	445,000,000
Jap. Rayon	256,000,000	340,000,000
Cot. Yn. (42)	233,000,000	270,000,000
Cot. Yn. (20)	140,000,000	170,000,000
Caustic Soda	93,000,000	105,000,000
Koo Pan Soap	5,730,000	6,400,000

US Magazine Roundup

Saturday Evening Post

"WE Need Not Fight Russia" says Hanson Baldwin in the April 3, 1948, issue of the *Saturday Evening Post*.

Defining politics as "the art of the possible," the author goes on to outline four courses of action which the US might, in theory, follow. "These are: (1) isolationism; (2) a world order by agreement, with international atomic and other controls; (3) a world order by conquest—that is, imperialism and the waging of a deliberate preventive war against Russia before she manufactures atomic bombs; and (4) the middle road: the maintenance and utilization of our national power for international rehabilitation and world stability. The objective: A balance of power."

Dismissing the first proposal of "isolationism" as being unable to be fitted into the "art of the possible ....in the guided-atomic-missile age" of today, and with the statement that "Our prosperity depends upon the world; we need the world as the world needs us," Mr. Baldwin takes up his second proposal: a world order by agreement. Of this, he says: "The type of world order contemplated by many blueprint internationalists is not compatible with the 'art of the possible.' Man's mind and man's emotions are not yet adjusted to the elimination of national boundaries, to a common citizenship .....Above all, as Bernard Brodie pointed out....'we live in a world dominated by two giants, each of which is too strong, relative to the total power potential of the world, to be proper members of a world government.'"

We then come to point three: world order by conquest. "This course," he says: "is naked imperialism in a new guise. It stems part from fear, in part from exasperation, in part from reluctant conviction that, since world order by agreement is impossible, we must achieve world order by force....It would be, I think, fatal to the American ideal of government, fatal to democracy, fatal to our already diminished moral standing in the world, to embark deliberately upon a preventive war against Russia. We should be embracing that pernicious doctrine we have so long opposed—that the end justifies any means.

"....War provides no solution, but merely substitutes one problem—sometimes far more serious—for another. Another great war now would produce problems far transcending even those we face today...

"You cannot defeat communism by the sword, for communism fattens on war and chaos. It sickens and dies during stable and tranquil peace. World order by conquest is, therefore, no answer."

Eliminating the first three, leaves only the fourth possibility: The middle road—a balance of power. "This course implies the full participation of the United States in international affairs, combined with national security measures. It means the maintenance and utilization of our national power for international rehabilitation and world stability.... It lies between the extremes of isolationism and imperialism; it rejects the cynical doctrine that the end justifies any means. But it also rejects as naively impractical the ....schemes of the blueprint internationalists....

"But it offers no easy path....It has many of the difficulties but none of the drama of war....indeed, it is a policy of the calculated risk....It implies the same kind of world that history has always known, a world of power politics and power centers, a world of tensions and conflicts, but a world, too, of hopes and aspirations, of energies and achievements.

"This course requires the full and complete participation of the US in international affairs. We must continue to strive for collective security, but practically and militarily we must recognize that national strength is still the primary determinant of international relations....We must face squarely the political failures of the UN and try to do something about them."

Mr. Baldwin advocates "alliances" as an instrument of "collective" security," and says that if possible, they should be set up within the framework of the UN. "If not, they should be established outside....that organization....Such a system of collective alliances ought not to be primarily against anything except aggression; it ought to be for collective security. More than any other one thing, such a move would tend to stabilize the front against an expanding Russia and lessen the possibility of a shooting war."

The author concludes: "The world is two worlds, and it does no good to refuse to accept that fact. We must consolidate our portion of it and try to make that portion as large and as powerful as possible. But our ultimate objective, even though it be decades or centuries away, must be one world. We must constantly try to heal and patch and bind, and to avoid the final hardening of Europe into two camps.

"This means, in other words, the middle way. We must shun alike the extremes of isolationism and imperialism. We must support the international organization, but we cannot put full dependence upon an unproved agency. We must be strong, but not too strong, for if we attempt to achieve absolute security we shall end up as a garrison state....

"For we shall travel no easy road. The middle ground is never smooth, least so in the atomic age. The awful weapons man has created are now forever with us; we shall walk henceforth with their shadow across the sun. The task is hard; it requires common effort and individual sacrifice. The price of power is great. But there is no alternative to the middle way."

* * *

Reader's Digest

MAJOR General Claire L. Chennault airs his views on the military situation in China in an article entitled "We Must Help China Now!" appearing in the April 1948 issue of the *Reader's Digest*.

He asserts: "The time fuse of World War III is burning now in Manchuria. While Russia's present maneuvers there are not as open as were Japan's in 1931, they are clear in their implications. Through creation of a Soviet sphere of influence, which the US carelessly sponsored at Yalta, the Soviet Union intends to supplant Japan in Manchuria and Korea; it also seeks to dominate Chinese borderlands from the Yellow Sea to the innermost recesses of Asia....

"America's intervention, on China's invitation, in Manchuria need not be of a combatant nature. China does not need American soldiers. She has already the resources of man power needed for victory. Her only shortcoming—a very great one—lies in her inability to train, arm and supply that man power, and bring it to bear to best advantage upon the inferior numbers of armed rebels. She has failed in this for a variety of causes, for which the US is not blameless."

General Chennault then attacks America's capitulation to Russia at the Yalta conference which, he feels, "virtually invited Russia to move into the Japanese sphere on the Asiatic continent" and also American efforts to mediate between the Chinese Communists and the KMT which he considers as having constituted merely breathing spells during which the Communists organized and trained tens of thousands of new troops in Manchuria. He advocates the building up of Nationalist air strength and the assignment, "at China's invitation," of able US military technicians to advisory posts in the Nationalist Government.

He concludes: "Our obligation to help China now is clear. Morally, it is something which we, in realistic appreciation of the danger to our world, must do. Time is short and the need is great...."

NEWS OF THE WEEK

National Assembly Winds Up; Change In US Policy Demanded

AFTER sitting in session for about a month, the National Assembly wound up on May 1. In the opinion of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, "the successful conclusion of the first session of the National Assembly is the greatest achievement of the Chinese people." However, the Generalissimo expressed regret that "during the past 40 years I have not been able to accomplish the will of Dr. Sun Yat-sen" and assured the delegates that "it is my earnest intention to accomplish the work of national reconstruction and unity and my responsibility is increased now that I have been elected president of the Chinese republic."

The election of General Li Tsung-jen as vice president and the defeat sustained by Sun Fo are said to have special political significance. After a bitter campaign which left the Kuomintang with scars which may never heal, General Li defeated Sun Fo by 1,438 votes to 1,295. Political observers in Nanking regarded Li's victory as a stunning blow to the Right-wing bureaucrats who have been in control of the Kuomintang and the Government for 20 years.

Some naive people entertained high hopes that speedy settlement of the Communist rebellion is among the major developments expected in China during the next few months as a result of General Li's victory, which was interpreted as meaning that the liberals were taking over the reins of Government. Neutral circles in Nanking could not foresee any drastic change in foreign policy, though they unanimously agree that the Kuomintang will very likely become revolutionary once more.

* * *

Dissatisfaction in North

SUN FO interpreted his defeat as a "protest against the Generalissimo's leadership on the part of National Assembly delegates. He told foreign correspondents that delegates from Manchuria and from the North were chiefly responsible for the large "protest" vote. He said that it was an indication of their dissatisfaction with the way things have been going in Manchuria and North China.

Later on at a meeting of his right-wing followers, Sun Fo stressed that his loss at the hands of reform candidate General Li Tsung-jen was not a personal blow, but one struck at the party. It was the failure of the Kuomintang and demonstrated its weaknesses, Sun said. Therefore he concluded that it is absolutely necessary for the Kuomintang to revive its revolutionary spirit and faithfully implement Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Three People's Principles. For this purpose he has set up a so-called "National Reconstruction Association," which claims to have 1,600 members. This organization, according to well informed political observers, indicates that the right-wing is doing its best to salvage party control which has suffered a severe setback in the vice presidential election and to rally around Sun Fo for a new fight.

In the light of this development, it is highly interesting to see that although Sun Fo had announced abandonment of his seat in the Legislative Yuan he was nominated by the Central Standing Committee of the Kuomintang as candidate for the presidency of the Legislative Yuan with Dr. Chen Li-fu, Minister of Organization of the Kuomintang, (not a Government position—Editor), as candidate for the vice presidency of the Legislative Yuan. According to press reports, Dr. Chen has already tendered his resignation as Minister of Organization.

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Gissimo's Appeal

TO forestall any possible discontent and opposition within the Kuomintang as the result of the unpleasant goings-on at the National Assembly, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek at a meeting of Kuomintang delegates to the National Assembly called upon the Party to have confidence in his leadership and not be influenced by Communist propaganda. According to press reports, the Generalissimo's voice broke with emotion as he said that he had heard murmurings of dissatifaction against the government and disbelief in his own report to the National Assembly on April 9. He warned: "The attacks on the Government's economic policies and charges of political corruption made by Kuomintang members of the National Assembly appeared to be influenced by Communist propaganda. Such attacks have certainly given encouragement to the Communists. All of you genflemen should have a confidence which can not be shaken."

The Generalissimo solemnly promised to crush the Chinese Communists, saying that "bowed by heavy burdens I will exhaust every ounce of my strength in this great cause although I die." He advised the delegates to correct themselves through self-examination, self-discipline and self-confidence. He further asked them not to be stress individual rights at this time but "sacrifice yourself for the state."

Political observers pointed out that the Generalissimo's address contrasted sharply with the speech of praise he publicly made to the National Assembly on its closing day. It coincided with the raising clamor for a shake-up of the ruling Kuomintang clique. According to *AP*, one delegate said: "The Kuomintang's decline and loss of popularity is due to the fact that a great number of adventurers have slipped into the party for personal political power through cliques. These persons should be eliminated, otherwise the Kuomintang cannot have a rebirth. Though the government has entered upon constitutional rule every one knows it is the same old story under Kuomintang control."

Leaders of the KMT are reported to be highly concerned over the party's loss of popularity and are thinking of doing something about it. As a footnote to Sun Fo's statement that National Assembly delegates from the North had voted against him as a protest against the Kuomintang policies, *Reuter* quoted a European from Peiping as saying that the popularity of the Kuomintang in the leading North China cities of Peiping and Tientsin is daily waning. According to the story of this European, the ordinary Chinese in these areas are not Communist sympathizers, but they are openly expressing the view that of the two evils presented by the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communists the latter, perhaps, was the lesser one.

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Situation Worsens

The situation in the north was pretty bad, the European continued. "Conditions in Peiping were reminiscent of life in Germany under the reign of the Gestapo. Almost every day raids were carried out in the early morning hours by secret police and thousands of citizens mysteriously disappeared during the past few months.

It was further revealed that a mass movement of people from the countryside to the cities and towns has taken place, and as a result, huge areas have been left uncultivated and desolate and many refugees in Peiping were living in deplorable conditions.

The *AP* told a similar story with regard to Mukden, over which hangs an air of doom. "Most shops are closed and shuttered and an increasing number of homes padlocked. Even well tenanted buildings somehow convey the impression of being untenanted. The cost of food has soared so high that the only prospect for thousands of people is hunger. An egg sells for CNC$200,000 or more than 30 times its price in Peiping. Most of the once-thriving streets present a desolate appearance. In some quarters crowds are to be found but they are mostly hawkers or refugees trying

to sell their possessions.... The whole city is drab and shabby, the inhabitants are dispirited and everywhere is an atmosphere of disquiet and even fear. Mukden is no place to be in today."

* * *

Time For Action

BRITISH Prime Minister Clement R. Attlee in his May Day speech bitterly denounced Soviet imperialism and stated that the "time has come when action is necessary." He said among other things: "Russia was always in my young days the supreme example of the police state, the land of fear and suppression, the land where free speech, free thought and free press were banned. It is the same today as it was then, only with a different set of rulers. It has yet to overtake several centuries of progress which have left their mark on western civilization. The supreme example of imperialism, stretching out across Asia and ever seeking to extend. It is the same today. It employs new methods, but in effect the countries of Eastern Europe have been brought within its imperialist sway."

Attlee's violent attack on Soviet Russia occasioned no surprise. It is indicative of the prevailing sentiment of the British Laborite leaders. In line with this "get tough with Russia" policy the Labor Party threatened to expel a group of its Left-wing leaders for their action in sending a telegram of solidarity to the Italian Socialist party on the eve of the general elections in Italy. It was stressed that the Italian socialists were cooperating with the Communists.

Mr. Knni Zilliachus, well-known leader of the labor rebels said that he and his followers were determined to "head off the unspeakable tragedy of the Labor Government, with the best intentions, destroying itself by slipping and stumbling and sliding toward an utterly meaningless third world war." It will be interesting to note that Zilliachus has consistently advocated close cooperation between Great Britain and the countries of Eastern Europe.

* * *

Emergency Plan

IN view of the mounting tension between Russia and the Western Powers, it is interesting to read a story printed in the Washington Post, in which it is revealed that the American-British combined chiefs of staff have a joint plan of action ready in case of a sudden attack by Russia in Berlin. According to the story, the American-British combined chiefs of staff worked out a short-term emergency plan as distinct from long-term plans when Lieutenant-General Sir Leslie Hollis, deputy military secretary of the British Cabinet, was in Washington in April.

While the State Department and the White House have cautiously refrained from revealing the role the United States is playing in shaping the five-power alliance now and in the future, there is little doubt in the minds of diplomatic observers in Washington that President Truman will assure American armed support to these countries when necessary.

Meanwhile, a report from London that Britain, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg will discuss a joint defense scheme to be coordinated with an overall US-European military cooperation plan in case of war, is being watched in Washington with great interest.

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Possibilities

AMERICAN military backing for the anti-Communist bloc in Europe is reported to be in the final stages of planning by the Truman Administration. According to well-informed insiders in Washington, future political and military relations between the United States and the Western European bloc include the following possibilities:

(1) A revival of military lend-lease. The guns and bullets, planes and tanks, which Western Europe may need from the United States to gain strength against the Communist east will have to be furnished by the United States free of cost unless the Marshall Plan for the economic recovery of Europe is to be thrown out of gear.

(2) Formation of what would amount in fact to a military alliance between the United States and the European countries. A prime objective of this would be to make specifically clear to the Soviets the points at which they could not attack without bringing on war with the United States.

(3) Use of military missions. It seems certain that if the US again sends large quantities of arms and highly complicated military machinery to Europe it will also have to provide officers to teach their use.

(4) Tighter high-command relations. One of the war-ime organizations between Britain and the United States which still exists is the combined chiefs of staff. It is considered fairly certain by some authorities that if and when the United States makes strong military commitments to western Europe, much greater international staff work may be required. This might be accomplished either by expanding the combined chiefs of staff or by having the United States take part in the new western union military committee being set up in London.

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Voice of Protest

THE present foreign policy of the United States has caused considerable anxiety among some American civic leaders. It is reported in the press that 12 prominent educators, clergymen and civic leaders issued an appeal for a new United States foreign policy based on an all-out drive to secure world government and universal disarmament. These leaders denounced the military measures pending in Congress, particularly the draft and universal military training, pointing out that the United States cannot build a constructive foreign policy so long as the Army insists that every new Army demand is essential to national security."

A similar view was expressed by Prof. Curtis MacDougall of Northwestern University, who openly accused the majority of American newspaper and radio commentators of convincing most Americans that war is the only solution to today's national problems. In the opinion of Professor MacDougall, the United States press as a whole is not helping the nation to a peaceful way out of the present tense international situation, "I hold that the American press is falling down on its job lamentably by not discouraging these anti-democratic trends at home.

* * *

Japan To Arm?

THE Japanese may be on the road toward staging a comeback in the military as well as the industrial fields. The Japanese Government has already created a "maritime safety board." This is generally regarded as a signal for the rebuilding of the military machine in Japan in defiance of the de-militarization ruling. It is an open challenge to the Potsdam Agreement.

The British delegate to the Far Eastern Commission stressed that the matter was of sufficient importance for the council to have been consulted before General MacArthur permitted the Japanese to do so. The Chinese delegates supported the stand of the United States, saying that General MacArthur was within his rights as sole executive administrator for the Allies in permitting the Japanese to create the maritime safety board. However, he thought the SCAP headquarters should carefully supervise the new maritime police to prevent any revival of the Japanese naval power that might be a threat to peace.

What US Papers Say

THE Korean riots in Japan, developments in China's National Assembly and the election of General Li to the vice presidency of China were all commented upon editorially in last week's US press. Other subjects of interest included the significance of the Tokyo war crimes trials and the Kashmir disput.

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Korean Riots

COMMENTING on the recent riots in Osaka and Kobe, the *Houston* (Texas) *Post* said: "The Koreans, who looked forward to having their independence resorted to them by the downfall of Japan, have been bitterly disappointed, and their resentment has been adroitly turned against the United States by the Commies.

"As we are now well aware, a major blunder was committed by our policy makers in consenting to the division of Korea into two zones with joint occupation. That, in itself, however, did not prevent the unification of Korea in accordance with the aspirations of the Korean people. The fault for the division rests entirely on Russia, but Uncle Sam is getting the blame . . ."

The *Louisville* (Kentucky) *Courier-Journal*, analyzing the situation more closely, declared: "We in the United States would not presume to take issue with the American Army officers in Japan when they assert flatly that the Communists inspired the Koreans in Kobe to riot. We do point out, however, that it is a dangerous habit to blame all riots on Communism—as if there were no other cause . . .

"The position of the Koreans in Japan is particularly inviting to resentment. Here is a population minority in close concentration among members of an enemy nation . . . Yet in Japan, where the Koreans have tried to maintain their own language, their own schools, their own mores, they are hedged about with Japanese regulations. Of course, they resented it . . . . and no doubt, some Communists were involved in the final riots. But here, as in Colombia and in Italy, unless there had been the humus of neglect, the seeds of Communism would not have sprouted. When one shouts 'Communist' and locks the leaders up, it does not excise the deeper cause."

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Japanese War Crimes Trial

THE *Portland Oregonian*, commenting on the conclusion of the Tokyo war crimes trials, said: "The . . . trials in Tokyo have come to an end after nearly two years, an historic record . . . Neither has history a parallel for the scrupulous nicety with which the trials were conducted, since the interests of the defendants were so zealously safeguarded that at times the tribunal seemed almost to lean over backwards . . . lest there be the least suspicion of prejudice. We find no fault with this attitude, for it is evident that we should prefer it to those arbitrary judicial usages which make a mockery of justice in totalitarian courts . . ."

The *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* said: "Certainly, the crimes which Nippon's former warlords have committed justify the punishment demanded (the death penalty) . . . It has been argued in their behalf that they were governed by the medieval code by which they lived—a code that invested aggressive warfare with the sanction of their religion and which condoned cruelty and mass slaughter. Such argument, however, cannot condone the sordid record of aggression, of mass cruelty, and of oppression which ranged from the invasion of Manchuria in 1931 to VJ Day. . ."

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China Elections

COMMENTING on the election of General Li Tsung-jen, the *New York Herald Tribune* declared: "The election of General Li Tsung-jen as Vice President of China places in high office one of the most vocal advocates of reform to be found within the Chinese Republic. The General has been vigorous and forthright in his demands for honest and efficient government. He appears to be convinced that China must have a government of such a character that it will win the support of the Chinese people before there can be a hope of victory over the Communists in the civil war—views which have often been advanced by American officials . . .

"His victory in the Assembly is proof that he has political backing and his possession of close friends among the more successful Chinese generals will not be a handicap. . . Let us hope that his ideas for reform in China bear fruit and that he earns praise as a political leader whose deeds are as fair as his words."

The *Kansas City* (Missouri) *Star* is not so hopeful in its comments on the China political scene in general. A recent editorial states: "It grows more and more evident that the dragon which has been laying China waste is a sense of utter frustration, of fine words never translated into political realities, of a people vocal but helpless and of selfishness in high places that merely creates a paralysis of administration without even producing the positive achievements of a dictatorship. Who will slay this monster? The desperate hope that Chiang Kai-shek would prove a St. George is now all but extinguished."

The *Christian Science Monitor* seemed to find events in China's National Assembly difficult to understand, saying: "Western readers may well be bewildered by the goings-on in China. President Chiang announces that he will not be available for the presidency under China's new democratic Constitution—and is then overwhelmingly elected President . . . with emergency powers which give him almost complete freedom from constitutional checks and balances. A fierce, three-cornered fight for the vice presidency results in all three candidates withdrawing their names—only to be persuaded by President Chiang to run again . . . Meanwhile, fist fights break out among the 3,000 delegates to the National Assembly and some of them go home in disgust.

"The air of unreality about these proceeding reflects the unreality of the assumption that China is a functioning constitutional democracy or anything like it. It reflects also a certain irrelevance in all these top-level machinations for control of the Nanking bureaucracy—an irrelevance to the real needs and aspirations of the people . . ."

Stating that Chiang Kai-shek's being "drafted" for the presidency by "a whopping majority" was "probably what Chiang had been fighting for" all along, the *Miami* (Florida) *Herald* asserted: "This wouldn't be the first time he had worked the same trick. After Sun Yat-sen's death, when Chiang and Wang Ching-wei were fighting for the crown, Chiang more than once 'retired to private life.' Things would go awry. The Chiang would be recalled and given dictatorial powers . . . The wire-photo grin on Chiang's face this time seems real."

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Kashmir Dispute

THE *Washington Star* declared recently: "A new test of the authority and prestige of the United Nations is involved in the decision of the Security Council to conduct a plebiscite of the inhabitants of Kashmir . . . Kashmir is not the only issue between the Hindus and Moslems of the Indian subcontinent. Yet it is the most sensitive and explosive aspect of their differences. Successful and statesmanlike handling of the Kashmir problem by the UN might go far toward easing tension between India and Pakistan while enhancing the prestige and authority of the United Nations everywhere."

The *Christian Science Monitor* said in part: "Occupation officials in Japan have found apparent Japanese subservience easier to deal with than misunderstood Korean unruliness. But to ignore the reasons for the latter is to leave the field open for Communism. It is not enough to say, as some American newspapers have said, that the moral of the finding is "that trouble invariably follows Communist infiltration.' It also shows that trouble from real grievances invites Communist infiltration."

What Chinese Papers Say

THE Pyongyang conference of the various political parties in Korea was generally hailed while the outbreak of savage fighting in Palestine was deplored in the Chinese press.

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Korea

THE *Ta Kung Pao* expressed the opinion that the Pyongyang conference marked the dawn of Korea's unification. "The different political parties of South and North Korea have held a conference on unification at Pyongyang. On April 23, the conference passed a resolution voicing its opposition to the holding of an election in South Korea alone and calling for the establishment of a central government which will unify South and North Korea. The resolution also demanded the withdrawal of both American and Russian troops from Korea. This is the dawn of Korea's unification. The Koreans have demanded a unified government, which is an indication of their courage to speak their mind in spite of outside pressure.

"Five hundred and forty-five delegates attended the conference, representing 46 Korean organizations. Report has it that in South Korea Syngham Rhee's party is the only one which favors holding an election for South Korea alone. We cannot help believing that the Pyongyang conference is national in character and that it represents an overwhelming majority. It is representative of the Korean people and reflects the will of the Korean nation.

"On the other hand, as the result of the holding of the conference it is no longer possible to cover up the fact that the United States military government for South Korea is disliked and enjoys very little popular support. It is said that all the policemen in South Korea are people who served under the Japanese and that most of the Koreans who are cooperating with the Americans are former running-dogs of the Japanese.

"The Korean people are pushing ahead with their national revolution, for which approximately 20,000 people have been arrested and jailed and 300 have lost their lives. The fact that the United States has adopted such a reactionary policy toward Korea, a policy which is in line with General Douglas MacArthur's policy of building up Japan, has made the Koreans become anti-American and anti-Japanese and has made them carry on their national revolution. This is also the reason why it was possible for the various political parties in Korea to meet at Pyongyang.

"Of course, the Pyongyang conference has not ruled out the possibility of holding a separate election for South Korea, for the United Nations Commission on Korea and the United States military government for South Korea will probably go ahead with their plans in defiance of popular opposition on the part of the Korean people. However, the delegates thus elected to the National Assembly cannot be expected to be representatives of the Korean people. They will be General Hodge's representatives only.

"The decision made by the Pyongyang conference has our approval. It is up to the United States and the Soviet Union to withdraw their troops from Korea simultaneously, and not to interfere in Korea's internal politics. A general election should be held in both South and North Korea in a free atmosphere, so that the Korean nation may be able to decide its own destiny and achieve unification, independence and national liberation."

* * *

Palestine

"THE situation created by the current war between the Jews and the Arabs is quite a complex one," the *Sin Wen Pao* wrote. "First, there are differences of opinion among the Jews themselves, as evidenced by the fact that Haganah is reportedly strongly opposed to the use of force by Irgun Zvai Leumi. Secondly British forces in Palestine suddenly decided to shirk their responsibility and withdrew from Haifa, at the same time announcing that they would terminate their mandate over Palestine before May 15, the date originally fixed. It was further reported that all British forces in Palestine are going to be evacuated. It is interesting to know whether the British did this with ulterior purposes.

"From an international point of view, Britain, the United States, Soviet Russia and France each have their own plans and it is therefore not difficult to understand why they have not come to an agreement on the Palestine issue. So far as the United States is concerned, there are about 6,000,000 Jews in the States and some prominent American financial and industrial leaders are Jews, who are solidly behind the Zionist movement.

"Other Americans, especially those who control military affairs as well as high-ranking military officers (represented by Secretary of National Defense Forrestal) feel that the oil produced in the Middle East is of great importance to the United States and that if the United States offends the Arabs, her supply of oil would become a very serious problem. These two schools of conflicting views led to much uncertainty and confusion in United States policy.

"The United States first recommended the partition of Palestine, but later on changed her mind and proposed that Palestine be placed under trusteeship. The reason why people like Forrestal oppose partition is simply because they don't want to offend the Arbs. They also don't like to see Soviet Russia gain a foothold in the Holy Land. Soviet Russia has taken this opportunity to launch a vigorous propaganda campaign against the United States and at the same time to please the Jews. It was reported the other day that there are Soviet advisers in the Jewish forces. This indicates that the situation is becoming more and more complicated.

"If the fighting in Palestine is not stopped in time, leading powers like the United States and Soviet Russia are bound to become involved in it.

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Fighting in Shensi

THE *Chien Hsin Jih Pao* called serious attention to the current fighting now in progress in Shensi.

"The battle for Kwanchung, Shensi, was preceded by the battles for Ichuan and Lochuan last month. The loss of the Government army commanded by General Liu Kan encouraged the bandits under the command of Peng Teh-hwai to invade the Kwanchung area. Peng struck the weakest link in the chain of Government defense. After crossing the Chin River, his troops attacked the Sian-Paochi section of the Lunghai Railway. Thus, the valley between the Chin and Wei Rivers has become a new war zone.

"It is for the following reasons that this new war zone deserves our attention. First, the Sian-Paochi section is the heart of the Kwanchung area. There are a large number of factories in and around Paochi, which is a very important communications center between the Northwest and the Southwest. The outbreak of fighting in this region has thrown a dark shadow over the minds of the people of West China. Secondly, the Sian-Paochi line serves as a bulwark for the Hanchung basin. If the Communist bandits advance southward from Paochi in the direction of Nancheng, it will offer a grave threat to Hanchung, the center of economic reconstruction in the Northwest.

"Today, Sian, the largest city in the Northwest, depends entirely upon the valley between the Chin and the Wei River for the maintenance of communications with Kansu and Szechuan. If the fighting in this area becomes stalemated there will be a distinct possibility that Sian may go the way of Kaifeng and Taiyuan.

"There is another point which is even more important. In the event of a US-Soviet war, the democracies, in their efforts to support the anti-totalitarian war, are bound to fight for the Sian-Lanchow-Tihwa line. Now the Sian-Lanchow highway and the Sian-Paochi railway, two trunk lines of communication between Shensi and Kansu, have been cut off. We must not underrate the gravity of the situation."

NEW BOOKS OF INTEREST

Pocket Dictionary

CHIU YIH'S GEM NEW CONCISE ENGLISH-CHINESE DICTIONARY, *by Minghan Hung. Published by Chiu Yih Book Company, Shanghai, 1948, pp. 1006. Reviewed by C. W. Ho.*

DICTIONARY compiling is not an easy job at all. It is all the more difficult in the case of bilingual dictionaries, such as an English-Chinese dictionary. A thorough knowledge of both English and Chinese is called for if the editor is to succeed in bringing out an "acceptable" dictionary. This often takes long years of painstaking research and editing work.

Although the English language has been taught in Chinese schools for several decades, it is sincerely to be regretted that so far there has not been available an up-to-the-standard English-Chinese dictionary. The trouble with many such dictionaries now on sale in this country is that most of them are modeled upon English dictionaries compiled by Americans or Japanese. What is good for the Americans or the Japanese is not necessarily good for the Chinese. The reason is quite obvious. Idiomatic usage which is taken for granted by Americans often causes a lot of headaches to Chinese students of English. The same is true of English dictionaries compiled by Japanese. Many model sentences and explanations in English-Japanese dictionaries are peculiar to Chinese. Therefore, in those English-Chinese dictionaries which were adapted from English-Japanese dictionaries, we often come cross many funny Japanese-style explanations.

Another trouble with the existing English-Chinese dictionaries is that many of them were first published before the war, at least ten years ago. The reader quite often feels bitterly disappointed when he looks in them for any new words or new phrases.

The present dictionary, handy and new, can be of some help in this respect.

However, possibly because of its handy, pocket size, some definitions in Chinese are too brief.

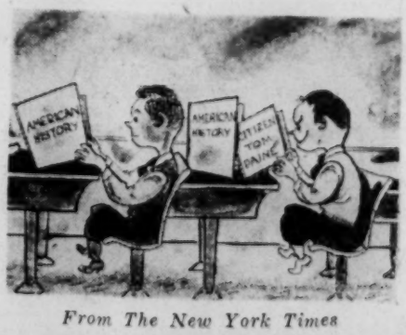
Queer Things Happen

THE STRANGE ALLIANCE *by John R. Deane, published by the Viking Press, New York, 1947. 333 pages and index. US$3.75. Reviewed by Donald Roberts.*

NOT for the first time in history have the victors in war become divided after victory. The alliance between the United States and Soviet Russia that gives the title to General John R. Deane's book was not altogether strange. The world harm that had threatened from Hitler was worse than anything that threatens from Soviet Russia's ideas. (This is the reviewer's belief in spite of the comment of *Time* magazine of March 22 that recent events are "driving the US to a belated recognition that the Axis had never been as dangerous as the imperial oligarchs of Communism.") It is not strange therefore that first Britain, and afterwards the United States, should have made common cause with Soviet Russia against the German aggressor.

Belatedly, one might think, an American military mission was sent to Moscow under General Deane in October, 1943. It remained for two years, until the end of the war. Its immediate objective was co-ordination of the military effort against Germany; but in General Deane's own words the "primary, long-range objective was to obtain Soviet participation in the war against Japan." On instructions from General Marshall, Chief of Staff, General Deane was able to obtain the "escape," with Soviet connivance, of many United States flyers from the Far Eastern front who owing to forced landings on Russian soil had been interned. In co-ordinating the intelligence services however, Deane's comment is, "We gave the Russians much more information than we received." Suspicion of foreign motives was in fact the chief characteristic of the Soviet leaders, and he reminds the reader: "It was either the President or the Prime Minister who proposed Teheran, Yalta or Potsdam." The whole story of collaboration was one "of American initiative and Russian resistance." But he found the Soviet military leaders and the Russian people extremely friendly. Eisenhower's visit to Moscow was a "heart-warning" example of this; so was the "spontaneous spirit of friendship" of the Russian people for the Americans after the German surrender.

Collaboration in the Pacific War is the title of Part III of General Deane's book, which is in four parts. Prior to Pearl Harbor 50 percent of US supplies to Russia went via the Pacific. Deane found the Soviet government quite understandably reluctant to violate the neutrality pact Russia had with Janan: he found it also sceptical of US ability to support Russia in the Far East, once Russia were involved. In spite of previous promises, according to Deane, the answer of the Soviet government in December 1944 was that it needed all the air and naval bases in the Maritime Provinces, and therefore US air and naval forces "will be unable to operate from those" General Deane admits that this was quite a blow to him. But by the time Russia entered the war against Japan the United States already had its air bases at Iwo Jima and Okinawa.



From The New York Times

The author considers Potsdam "the high point of Soviet-American military collaboration." But he comments: "Stalin drove a hard bargain with Soong;" and he adds that Stalin's demands "to some extent exceeded the program that Roosevelt and Churchill had agreed to support during the Yalta Conference." It will be evident to the reader from this that Deane's treatment of the Far Eastern situation is not very satisfactory; and this in spite of the fact that in his own words the "primary long-range objective was to obtain Soviet participation in the war against Japan."

Deane's views (he is now retired from the army) as to the prospects for the future are pertinent. He recognizes the solid achievements of Soviet Russia which cannot be disregarded in any critique of Russia. Illiteracy has disappeared, education is universal, the opportunities of the individual are greater than ever before in Russia, culture and the arts —once reserved for the few—are now enjoyed by many. Even material advantages have increased somewhat. (The author follows all Western visitors in his comment on the Moscow Subway as "the most beautiful thing of its kind in the world.") Added to this is his judgment of the Russian: "His basic traits of character are sound." The Russian people, he says, have confidence in the leaders under whom they achieved ultimate military victory. Favorable to the Soviets in their foreign relations are their certainty of objective; the fact that they obtained their objectives in the war better than the democracies did; their continuously maintained military strength; their international organization. Certain factors are against any Soviet invitation to war: the industrial task is too great; the war casualties have drained Russian manhood; the administrative organization lacks foresight; and there is the ever present uncertainty as to who will succeed Stalin.

General Deane affirms his belief that Capitalism and Communism can coexist; but the Soviet opinion, he asserts, is that they cannot. The Soviet attitude therefore requires, he says, a definite program "to prevent anywhere and at any time Soviet action which threatens our security." In the last two words lies the possible weakness of this thesis. Every month that passes shows the necessity for a more than merely national security. It might seem a small distinction but it might also mean all the difference between sound and disastrous statesmanship.

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